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FIELD MARSHAL PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON HINDENBURG

The second President of the German Republic, having been elected on April 26, 1925. He took the oath of office and swore to preserve the Constitution and laws of the republic on May 12. Later the same day he issued a manifesto reaffirming his determination to uphold the Republican Government of Germany



CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXII.

JUNE, 1925

Number 3

A Defense of United States Naval Policy

By DUDLEY W. KNOX

Captain, U. S. N. (Retired), Chief of the Historical Section of the Navy Department

THE recently emphasized national policy of economy, together with the modernization and airplane controversies, has subjected the United States Navy to very severe criticism in many quarters. To what extent this criticism is justified is a question which can be best answered by beginning with a brief historical survey.

Starting eight years ago from a condition of officially imposed quiescence and non-preparedness, the Navy was suddenly called upon to expand itself tenfold while simultaneously meeting the crucial test of operations against a highly efficient and active enemy. American naval effort was the principal influence in the conquest of the German submarine. Our Navy rendered important war service in a multitude of other ways. In November, 1918, naval policy went through another sweeping change. The need of demobilization imposed an urgent grand reduction. The strength of the organization was rapidly divided by about five. The remainder was approximately halved three years later in consequence of the Washington Conference. Since then the operation of the budget system and the national policy of economy have imposed many major difficulties with respect to funds. The

undermining influences at work upon the efficiency of great organization when subjected to such rapid and drastic expansion and contraction should be readily understood. Few, however, can comprehend the difficulty of withstanding these major strains and at the same time digesting and incorporating into the organization the extraordinary progress which has been made in the many branches of the highly complex art of naval warfare. In this it is necessary not only to keep up with the times, but also to set the pace if possible. The Navy has stood the strains of war, demobilization, limitation of armaments and national economy. It has adjusted itself to recent progress, and more than any other navy it now leads in the never-ceasing naval evolution.

What has just been said applies only in a large sense. It would be stupid and manifestly erroneous to contend that during the last eight years of strenuous trial there have not been many important deficiencies properly chargeable against the Navy. Among these are marine disasters. Seven destroyers, a cruiser and two submarines were wrecked. Five other destroyers were damaged by grounding or collision. Serious explosions occurred on the Missi-

issippi and Trenton. If the Navy was not large and very actively employed, as it is, this would be a very disturbing casualty list. That navigation is not an exact science and involves a certain per cent. of unavoidable risk, is evidenced by merchant marine disasters of which we read almost every day. Fog, bad weather and ocean currents will always take their toll for vessels that do not remain in port. Inevitable risks are also attendant upon fleet manoeuvres and gunnery. By the inexorable law of general averages where risks are frequently run, some damage is certain to result in spite of the highest efficiency. In these circumstances the number of casualties is more than anything else an index of activity, and without activity a navy cannot gain or keep up efficiency. The Navy is jealous of its own efficiency, so that, within reason, there should be a degree of tolerance toward naval accidents, especially those which follow drastic reductions in the number of personnel.

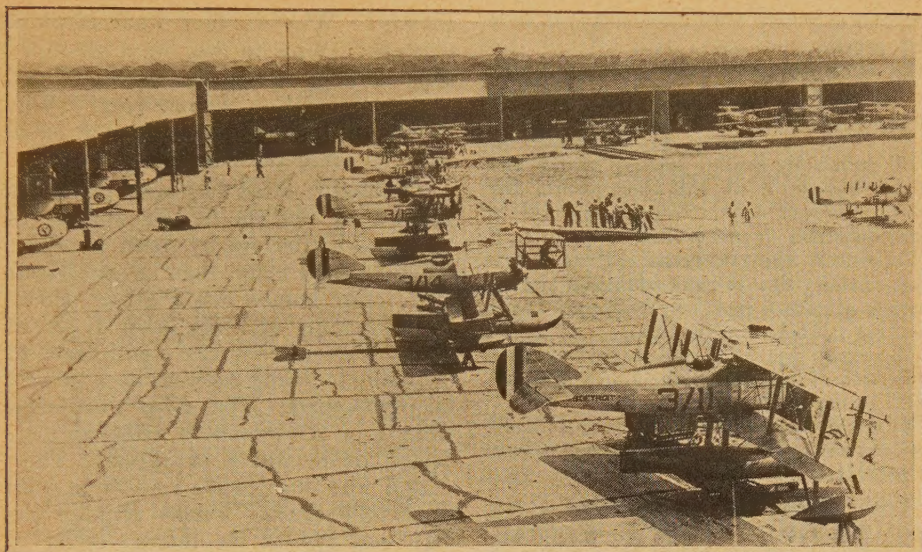
Naval expenditures undoubtedly have been and are still higher than they should be. Remembering, however, the great expansion and contraction of aggregate size which have taken place, coincident with abnormally rapid progress in nearly all naval arts and sciences, we must recognize that no organization can operate economically under such conditions. In addition, allowance should be made for the high costs of everything during and since the war and the liquidation of war contracts and of surplus stocks of supplies accumulated during the war. Then there is the question of transferring the centre of gravity of naval activity from the east to the west coast; from a locality where drydocks and other shore facilities are ample to one where there are many important deficiencies to be rectified. The Navy has tried unsuccessfully to save large sums by a more drastic demobilization of east coast navy yards than has been permitted. Finally, the expenditures incident to the Washington Conference should be mentioned. The cost of scrapping operations alone was up-

ward of \$70,000,000. Moreover, we were called upon to scrap ships which, if completed, would now be the cream of our Navy; ships which would be of modern design and so new as to require little repair and upkeep. In anticipation of their completion, the older ships had not been modernized according to war lessons nor kept in the best condition of repair. Now we have on our hands as the largest part of our treaty-limited battleship force those older ships which cannot be conditioned or modernized without abnormal expenditure.

UNFAIR CRITICISM

It is scarcely logical to require a designer to scrap his latest and best design and then judge his progressiveness by what remains. Criticism of our recently completed light cruisers is very much in this category. They were contracted for in 1917, but completion was delayed owing to special circumstances which need not be detailed here. Other nations have more recently laid down or built cruisers incorporating the lessons of the war and keeping in mind the special provisions of the naval treaty, while until this year we have had no money for that purpose. In regard to our submarine design, there is more truth on the side of the critics, though technicalities too intricate to detail here have led them into exaggeration. We have been backward in respect to submarine engines and periscopes, and we have lacked imagination in prescribing the size, speed and other characteristics of most of the vessels of this type. Practically all of them which have been built, however, were laid down before or during the war. More recently progress has been retarded by lack of funds.

The fact that a great proportion of the aircraft material on hand is out of date and that few modern airplanes are on hand is not proof of apathy and inefficiency, but of the reverse. The United States Navy in its aircraft designs and general aviation development leads the world today. As one example, the planes which the Army fliers flew



Naval air scouts of the light cruiser division in the Canal Zone en route to the fleet manoeuvres in the Pacific

around the world originated in the Navy, being evolved by a civilian designer in collaboration with naval officer designers. It is the very excellence of naval designs and the rapidity of the progress thus made which have brought about the obsolescence of older material. Notwithstanding widespread propaganda to the contrary, the Navy is not hostile to aviation, but is actually fighting for it. The Navy's desire to have its own aviation—which it regards as so excellent an instrument of warfare on the sea that the fleet would be crippled without it—has been widely interpreted as hostility to aviation. It is true that the Navy disputed extravagant claims of aeronautical crusaders, and it is quite competent to do so, since no better aeronautical experts exist anywhere than among the 4,000 officers and men composing the naval aviation organization. Whether the extreme air enthusiasts ultimately prove correct or not makes no difference in regard to the main issue of the Navy keeping its own aviation. The better aviation becomes the more the Navy will want and need it. If airplanes can sink battleships, the Navy needs air-

planes for use against hostile battleships.

The Navy's recognition of the value of aviation afloat began in 1911. Its wide experience in aviation during the war convinced it of the immense future possibilities of aviation at sea. In 1918, when the British Navy was so apathetic toward aviation as to consent to parting with it, the United States Navy opposed any such move in this country. Subsequent developments demonstrated our wisdom and foresight, since only after a hard fight has the British Navy recently regained almost exclusive control over its aviation. British errors in 1918, since frankly admitted and corrected, are now illogically held up to us as a model of what we should do seven years later. In 1922 the General Board of the Navy devoted several months to the intensive study of aviation and evolved the following general policies, which were formally approved by the Secretary of the Navy:

To complete rigid airships now under construction and to determine from their performance in service the desirability of further construction;

To build non-rigid airships for development

purposes only until their usefulness shall have been proved;

To direct the principal air effort on that part of the air service that is to operate from ships of the fleet;

To direct development of heavier-than-air craft principally toward spotting planes and toward torpedo, bomb and scout planes, that can operate from ships. To combine the three latter functions in one plane;

To convert now two battle cruisers to aircraft carriers; then to build additional aircraft carriers at such a rate that the United States shall not fall behind treaty ratios;

To prepare detailed type plans for immediate conversion of suitable merchant vessels to aircraft carriers;

To design aircraft carriers to carry as many combined torpedo, bombing and scout planes as possible.

Development has gone ahead along these general lines until the Navy has converted itself into a combination of air and sea power; about 10 per cent. of the total, including capital ships, being represented by air power, and a greater proportion is planned. To take naval aviation from the control of the Navy would put back this development ten years and cripple the nation's sea power. Incidentally, it may be stated that the policies just quoted are only a small part of an exceedingly comprehensive set of naval policies determined upon by the General Board of the Navy after the Washington Conference. A study of this document will convince any fair-minded person that charges of narrow-mindedness and unprogressiveness on the part of those responsible for the broad administration of the naval service is not warranted.

It should now be clear how unjust and illogical are the charges which have been freely made as to the motives of naval officers. Pure selfishness is said to animate them in insisting that battleships are a necessary part of sea power. They are charged with wanting to keep battleships because battleships are comfortable and give naval officers employment, prestige and many other things unrelated to national defense. If this be true, why do officers want light cruisers, mine layers, destroyers, submarines, repair ships, tankers and other types of

vessels? Why do they want airplane carriers? Why do they want airships? Why do they want to spend \$40,000,000 on naval aviation in one year? Why do they fight the separation of naval aviation from the Navy?

The public mind has been much impressed by the spectacular sinking of three old battleships by Army bombers. No one knows better than naval officers that aerial bombs are a great menace to battleships and all other types of ships. Nevertheless, the significance of the Army bombing tests has been grossly misrepresented. The ships themselves were in no sense modern, either in their design or condition of repair. Their design was obsolete in respect to both protection against bombs striking the deck and against the mining effect of bombs exploding in the water close alongside. The *Ostfriesland* was in such poor repair that she would have sunk even if no bomb had been dropped within five miles of her. The target battleships were at anchor in perfect weather; they had no crews to stop leaks, nor pumps to free them from water. Battleships are vulnerable to bombs; but no more so than to gunfire, or to torpedoes, or to mines. Battleship design is in a state of flux, as it has been for the last 2,000 years and more. The battleship of tomorrow will probably be very different from that type of today. Perhaps she will be an airplane carrier, but she will still be a battleship, which is merely a name for the strongest type of fighting ship.

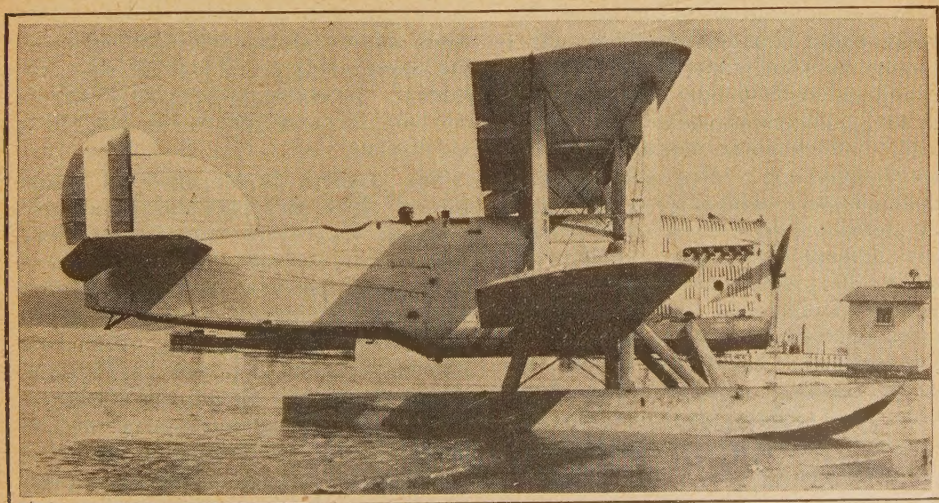
The question arises as to who is competent to pass judgment upon such questions as the substitution of air power for sea power. General Mitchell has stoutly maintained that naval officers have insufficient knowledge and experience to interpret or thoroughly understand aeronautical problems. This is not true. Many naval officers, some of high rank, are flyers. Some naval officers have been flying longer than the General. On the other hand, the General has had no naval experience worth mentioning; yet he believes himself competent enough to advise the nation at

great length upon some of the broadest and profoundest questions of naval policy, strategy and tactics.

What is a navy for? Fundamentally, sea power, in common with all other forms of power, including air power, exists for the support of the nation's land power. A vital element in the land power of economically developed nations such as the United States is their systems of transportation. These do not stop at the coast by any means, but are projected for thousands of miles over salt water. We are fond of saying that the United States, if necessary, could be self-supporting and therefore is not vitally dependent upon sea communications. The exact sense in which this is actually true is so limited as practically to make it untrue. It was found to be incorrect in 1807, during Jefferson's embargo, and again in the South during the Civil War. Since then our dependence upon sea communications has greatly increased. A little reflection will make it apparent that the serious interruption of our overseas transportation nowadays would bring about such a complete disruption of our complex economic life, such great privation and suffering for millions of our citizens engaged in industrial pursuits, as to be comparable in gravity to hostile invasion. We suf-

fered no greater harm from the invasion of 1812 than from the embargo of 1807. In the end was invaded France worse off than blockaded Germany?

It is principally to insure freedom of sea communications both during peace and war that we have a navy. There is no prospect of aviation ever being able to give this insurance to the country except as an integral part of floating forces, which can transport planes and their supplies to extensive sea areas where planes alone can neither go nor remain. While planes carrying nothing but fuel can fly long distances, it should be remembered that the radius from base through which planes can now operate when fully loaded with bombs and war equipment is only about 200 miles. Physical laws seem to fix a future limit of about 250 miles—a small distance in the great expanse of the oceans. Furthermore, fleets which control ocean areas also cut the enemy's maritime communications. During the World War, for instance, until German cruiser raiders were finally run down, allied efforts on the European land fronts were greatly impaired. Perhaps the greatest crisis of the war was precipitated by the German submarine campaign, which for several months nearly succeeded in cutting the allied sea com-



The airplane used by the army world flyers, which was developed from a United States naval plane

munications. Meantime, Russia, a nation whose undeveloped natural resources are greater than those of the United States, collapsed principally because her access to the sea through the Baltic and the Black Sea had been blocked for three years. Finally Germany's surrender was influenced to an enormous extent by the results of the allied control of the sea. The inevitable conclusion is that an American fleet in control of the ocean is the most effective, and at the same time much the cheapest, agency for safeguarding sea communications.

A by-product of sea control is coast defense. Though a very important function, this is only an incidental reason for the existence of a navy, the main object of which is to protect the ocean transportation system. Yet even for the purpose of coast defense the Navy's part is a vital one. An American fleet of treaty size at Hawaii effectively guards the entire Pacific Coast and Alaska against anything but a minor raid. Similarly the entire Atlantic seaboard, including the Gulf and the Panama Canal Atlantic approaches, may be rendered secure against major aggression by our fleet operating from St. Thomas or the Cape Cod region. From these points our fleet can control all ocean communications to our coast. No enemy would be simple-minded enough to court disaster by attempting a major expedition against this country while his sea communications were so threatened. Even a purely aerial expedition would require a great quantity of sea-borne supplies, without which it could not operate. Such a naval system of coast defense is not only the most effective, but also much the cheapest method. It includes also the fortification and other land and aerial defense of the principal harbors, to secure them against raiding operations by small forces, and to delay and hold at a distance any major attack until the fleet can reach the vicinity.

Whatever else is true of air power as compared with sea power, it certainly

is not cheap. The recent Army bombing tests against battleships were conducted with a plane costing about \$40,000 and capable of carrying only a 2,000-pound bomb, but against modern armored decks and underwater protection such bombs are not effective. Therefore, planes like the experimental Barling bomber, capable of carrying a 10,000-pound bomb, are needed, but one of these machines costs about \$400,000, though on quantity production basis that sum could be halved. Consider also the cost of airships. The Shenandoah and Los Angeles have been characterized as "babies" compared with what is coming. It would take a \$6,000,000 airship to carry four Barling bombers. Airships deteriorate very rapidly and require replacement every five or six years. Under peace conditions the life of an airplane is only about four years. In war it is very much less. On the other hand, the average life of ships is from sixteen to eighteen years and of battleships about twenty years. To compare the costs of the two kinds of power it is therefore necessary to multiply aerial costs by 4 or 5. During the last ten years the United States has spent upward of \$2,000,000,000 for aeronautics and about three times as much for sea power. We have a large navy in existence today to show for our money, in spite of having had to scrap many capital ships under the terms of the naval treaty. Where is the air power? According to General Mitchell, we have nothing left in the air worth mentioning.

Sea strength is an alloy of many forces. Not only battleships but submarines, destroyers, aircraft, cruisers, mine-layers and other auxiliaries have to be combined to produce its complex strength. Naval officers are opposed to the removal of any one of its constituent elements of power, for they understand that the purpose of a navy is not only to defend our coasts but also to safeguard the nation's communications on the oceans, where ships carry so much needed for human welfare and happiness.

The Dictatorship in Spain

By ABBE ALPHONSE LUGAN

Well-Known French Preacher and Publicist; Formerly a Professor of Philosophy; Author of Many Books on Religious, Political and Social Subjects, Including "L'Egoïsme Humain," Which Received a Prize from the French Academy

THE situation in Spain today is exceedingly grave. A dictatorship wields arbitrary power, freedom of speech and all constitutional rights are trampled under foot, and the war in Morocco continues to take heavy toll of blood and treasure. At this time, when Spain is transformed into a martial camp and the whole nation, apart from a few elements, is in a state of dangerous unrest and hostility to the iron rule of the Directorate supported by the monarchy, it is important to record the conditions which made this military despotism possible in Spain, to trace the course of its development and to note the course of public opinion as it is expressed by some of the best intellects of Spain. Only thus will it be possible to determine whither this régime is tending.

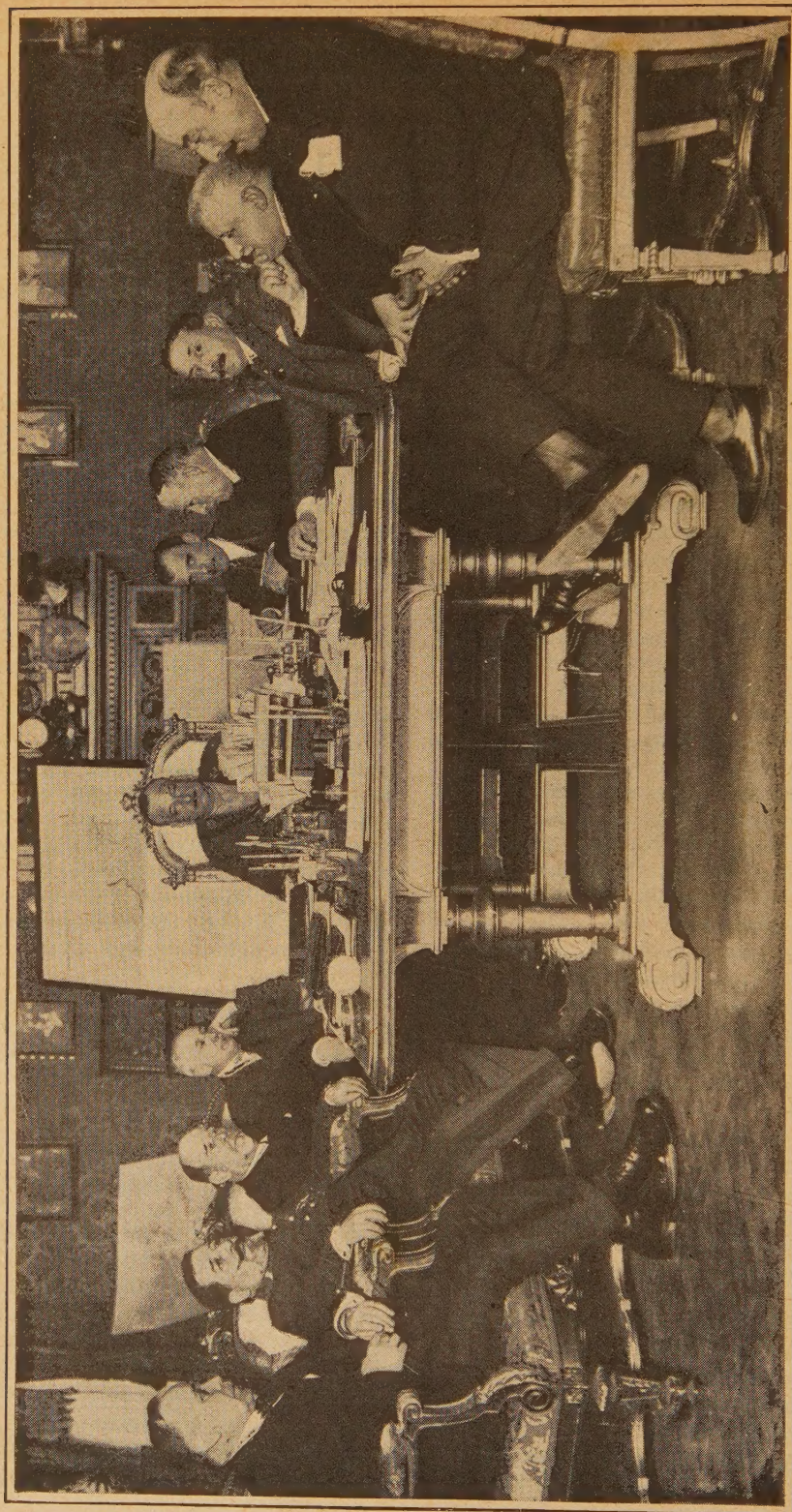
Those who have followed the recent course of events know that there existed in Spain for nineteen years, until the year 1923, a secret Government exercised by the military juntas. Several Ministers, of whom Señor Maura was one, tried to dissolve these juntas, but failed in the attempt. Most Ministers feared them, for they knew the fate that awaited them if they dared to resist them. Señor Lacierva, the chief culprit in bringing about this situation, and who, after assuring the juntas' existence by bestowing upon them the name "Economic Unions of Defense," later changed his views and sought to reduce their power. This change of front led to immediate reprisal. Four burly officers went to his home and threatened to throw him out of the window. Señor de Romanones was

forced to resign because he refused to execute the juntas' demands. Señor Sanchez de Toca, President of the Senate, told me in Madrid in November, 1922, that he had also been forced to resign by the juntas. No newspaper had printed a word about this incident.

At one moment the juntas might have been crushed. Public opinion in favor of this was virtually unanimous. Sanchez Guerra did not have the courage to comply with the desire of the whole nation and he therefore resigned. He also committed the blunder of appointing a military court-martial to judge the officers responsible for the Riff defeat. This court, to which were turned over first the military officers supposed to be guilty, manifested toward them a spirit of harshness amounting to ferocity. The body counted confidently also on bringing civilian administrators before it.

Meanwhile the Liberals, after making peace between the different groups, assumed office after the elections, in which they showed a shameless favoritism which discredited the Parliament elected. The court-martial continued its pitiless judgment of the accused officers and succeeded in winning some elements of public opinion in favor of its desire to have the civilian offenders turned over to it. The Government, which was quite well aware that if it yielded to this demand it would have to strike at high officials and make serious trouble for its own friends, had recourse to subterfuges.

The juntas, taking advantage of the army's resentment, demanded reprisals against the Moors. They succeeded in



Wide World Photos

The Spanish military directorate in council under the Presidency of General Primo de Rivera (from left to right): Rodriguez Pedro, Mayandia, Hermosa, Marques de Magaz, Primo de Rivera, Gomez Jordana, Ruiz del Portal, Navarro, Vallespinosa and Muslera

winning over the Minister, Señor Silvela, to their point of view, but other Ministers, including Señor Alba, who knew that any new expedition against the Moors would be very unpopular in Spain, opposed this plan with the utmost energy. Silvela resigned. The resentment of the military caste against the Ministry and especially against Señor Alba, was intense.

RIVERA'S PLOT AT BARCELONA

Minister Garcia Prieto had sent to Barcelona as Military Governor the young General Primo de Rivera. This was done out of consideration for de Rivera's uncle and as compensation for the failure of certain political ambitions which had not been realized. Two months before the Province of Barcelona had elected by a considerable majority Catalanian Deputies who favored separation of that province from Spain. Señor Cambo, the moderate regional leader, had been defeated politically and had withdrawn from public life. The important industrialists saw their business growing steadily worse every day because of the constant strikes, which were supported by syndicalist elements. Murders took place on all sides and remained unpunished by the authorities. Juries, through fear, acquitted the murderers upon both sides. General Anido, now Minister of Interior, had been forced by the Guerra Ministry to abandon his post as Military Governor on account of his fondness for direct procedure in the exercise of his authority. He was sent to command an army in Morocco. Primo de Rivera recalled him from this post.

On the other hand, the Spanish officers garrisoned at Barcelona were made by the angry Catalonians the objects of mockery in the streets. The juntas or military committees, supported by Anido, were still better organized in Barcelona than in Madrid and other cities because of the hostile attitude of the population toward the army. The industrial and financial elements supported them as their only hope in their struggle with the labor unions.

The Liberal Ministry, headed by a weak Premier, was torn by diverging viewpoints. Three tendencies prevailed within it. The policy favored by Señor Alba, the most representative man of the coalition, was about to win the victory. The expedition to Morocco was on the point of being abandoned, the militarists were to continue their trials of their brother officers and the day when the civilians would be called to trial remained unsettled. A strong party of military elements, especially the juntas, were greatly excited and demanded that the army should be given its revenge for the charges made against it.

Under these circumstances it was easy for Primo de Rivera either to yield to pressure to bring about his coup or to prepare it on his own initiative. It should be noted, however, that he had to win over a part of the army which wished no pronunciamiento or wished it in an entirely different sense. De Rivera won his point by promising good positions to those who were in doubt.

It seems to be confirmed that King Alfonso knew since the month of June of the plans that were being prepared. The head of his military staff, General Cavalcanti, had given General Primo de Rivera to understand that he should secure at least the tacit support of the sovereign. The moment chosen to carry out the plan was an excellent one. In August and the first days of September all the authorities, even the Cabinet Ministers, excepting the Minister on weekly duty, also all political personages are sojourning at San Sebastian, on the coast of Cantabria or in the mountains. Primo de Rivera, after obtaining assurances from the Military Governor of Saragossa and also, undoubtedly, from the Governor of Madrid, had only to take the train to the capital. The King, summoned in great haste by Garcia Prieto, reached Madrid only after Primo de Rivera had expelled all the Ministers.

Not a drop of blood was shed. The Liberal Ministry was so discredited that even the Republicans accepted the dic-

tator without a struggle. The youthful members of the Right hailed him as a savior. The old politicians of all parties were stupefied and remained silent. They could not very well have done otherwise, for Primo de Rivera had hastened to take steps making free speech impossible. The Spanish masses were so unfamiliar with politics that the coup of Primo de Rivera aroused among them no serious opposition. The Socialists and the General Confederation of Labor declared that their attitude was one of calm expectation. The Liberals received from the shrewd Romanones an injunction which all the politicians seem to have heeded: "No hostility, but no support." Certain Liberals of El Sol, however, men inclined toward Republicanism, did not hesitate at first to show the Dictator sympathy.

The Rights were very much embarrassed. The young "Maurists" [adherents of Maura] enthusiastically supported the dictatorship. But Señor Maura did not conceal his skepticism. The movement launched by the Generals, he said, may be compared to that of a bicycle going at full speed—as long as it keeps going everything is all right, but when it stops there is danger.

Among the Catholics of the Popular Social Party, Ossorio Gallardo, this party's most intelligent and most representative member, condemned the coup and awaited developments. Señor V. Pradera, on the contrary, an ardent and militant Carlist, could find no praise exalted enough to bestow upon the Directory. El Debate, with some hesitation which could be read between the lines of its censored pages, followed the example of Señor Pradera.

Thus was the Spanish directorate under General Primo de Rivera established in Spain. What has been its record? Its political acts and their consequences may be summarized as follows:

ACTS OF THE DIRECTORATE

1. *Suppression of the Juries*—The juries, fearing reprisals from either the Right or the Left, almost always condoned the "social" assassinations. These

crimes were referred to military courts; and they subsequently diminished.

2. *Struggle Against the High Cost of Living*—A series of decrees reorganized the tax system, the system of control and fines for merchants; these measures led to a temporary reduction of the cost of living.

3. *Suppression of Free Speech*—El Ateneo of Madrid, before the Directorate took power, was a kind of free forum in which all opinions, including even the extreme Right and the extreme Left, could obtain a hearing. The Directorate decreed that this paper should express no opinions opposed to the new Government's views; whereupon the management of the Ateneo resigned. Even papers as loyal to the Directorate as El Debate had its columns censored daily. Nothing could be written in criticism of the Directorate. The censorship is so severe that one can learn almost nothing of the true situation by merely reading the Spanish newspapers. One must learn the art of reading between the lines; and one must also talk with people who are actually participating in the course of events in order to gain an approximate idea of the real situation. The press, through fear of the Dictator, prints only commonplaces or, like a certain Catholic organ of Madrid which is thereby laying itself open to harsh reprisals later, indulges in praises which surpass all permissible boundaries of courtly adulation. Rarely has a censorship been so minute and so severe. The obstacles placed by Mussolini on the Italian press are nothing compared with the iron gag which strangles all the papers of the Spanish peninsula. The Association of the Madrid Press begged the Directorate to relax this pressure at least to some extent, declaring that otherwise all newspapers would soon disappear, leaving newspaper writers generally without a livelihood. The Spanish public, meanwhile, knowing that the newspapers must either pass events in silence or distort the facts, has virtually ceased to purchase them.

Because of the censorship the news

agencies of the entire world have been unable to obtain any precise or accurate details of the true situation. Publicists of Right or Left tendencies interpret it in conformity with their own individual views. Until normal conditions are restored, the true character of certain revolts, whether predominantly Communist, Catalanian or military, will remain unknown. To prevent the nation from being "contaminated" by unwelcome news items, the Directorate one day decreed that "no French newspapers would henceforth be allowed to penetrate into Spain." It further extended this prohibition to British, Portuguese, Italian and Moroccan papers. Even correspondence exchanged by private individuals between Spain and other countries and in Spain itself is not safe from confiscation. Señor Ossorio Gallardo was thrown into prison for having written to Señor Maura that the achievements of the Generals of the Directorate were somewhat less than marvelous. A Spanish monk of Madrid concluded a letter which he sent me with these words:

"I have very interesting things to tell you, but private letters are read and I do not wish to expose my order to unpleasant episodes." The exile of Unamuno was decreed because of a severe criticism expressed by this writer in a South American newspaper. Though Unamuno is a talented and very original writer, he does not deserve all the praises that have been bestowed upon him by certain people. But the Directorate might have avoided giving him such publicity in a way which did more harm than good to the Government.

4. *Struggle Against Separation*—The military courts, according to a decree of the Directorate, will shortly judge crimes against the safety and the unity of the country. Only Spanish flags can



Wide World Photos

GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA
Head of the Spanish dictatorship

be raised on buildings and ships, except in the case of embassies, consulates and other buildings belonging to foreign powers. Violations of the law are punished by six weeks in prison and by fines ranging between 500 and 5,000 pesetas. Separatist propaganda and the diffusion of Separatist ideas are punishable by six to twelve months' imprisonment and by a fine of 500 to 5,000 pesetas, and by twenty-four months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 to 10,000 pesetas, respectively. Separatist uprisings are punishable by six to twelve months in prison for the leader of the movement and by three to six months for the others.

On the other hand, Primo de Rivera declared, soon after taking power, that

he had decided to effect decentralization on a wide scale. He explained his plans as follows:

I shall make at first a new administrative, judicial, political and even military division of Spain. I wish to create strong (provincial), regions, to diminish bureaus and useless personnel, to relieve the State of important services which will be assured by the provinces.

But it is important that all this should be accomplished without loosening or bringing into question national unity. Regional languages will be respected, but we shall make every effort to extend the confines of the Castilian tongue.

THE CATALONIAN PROBLEM

Numberless Catalanian societies "protested against the ban on the Catalanian language and flag." The Directorate replied in a severe letter maintaining the ban and even making it more drastic. The Catalanian problem thus became more and more acute. The blunders of the Directorate threw Catalonia, which seeks to play in Spain the same rôle as that played by Ireland in the British Empire and to obtain the same results, into a state of great excitement. The Governor General of Barcelona having forbidden the Bar Association to carry on its discussions in Catalanian, the association refused to submit to this. He then dismissed the Belgian Professor Dwelshauers, who taught psychology in a Catalanian institution. More than a hundred professors supported their colleague and 4,000 students went out on strike. Catalonia brought up its case before the League of Nations. The League replied that it could decide the question only if invited to do so by Spain, for the Province of Catalonia had never been recognized as a minority region.

The Catalanians are working to win over public opinion abroad in favor of their cause. They have set up in Paris a weekly periodical, the *Courrier Catalan*, which defends their ideas and attacks the Dictatorship. The numerical strength of the Separatists is said to have increased considerably. If France came out in favor of Catalonia, she would draw on herself Spain's violent animosity, and without Spain, which

furnishes her with wheat and wine, Catalonia cannot exist.

Federalism would perhaps be the saving solution. Meanwhile, things are going badly in Catalonia. The Directorate has shown tactlessness in its treatment of this Province, which is the home of Separatism and revolution. It has almost completely forbidden the use of Catalan in public demonstrations. The "Catalanists" are vigorously prosecuted. The delegation which presented Catalonia's case before the League of Nations revealed a very dangerous state of mind existing in this Province.

Separatism has made formidable progress also in the Basque regions since the advent of the Directorate. The most moderate of the "Regionalists" are reported at the time these pages were written to be, like Señor Cambo, Republican.

5. *Administrative Reforms.*—Government officials were forced to fulfill efficiently the duties for which they were paid. The municipalities were suppressed and their councils replaced by delegates of the professional organizations, in order to overthrow caciquismo, or the "political boss" system. The incompatibility of holding political offices and also posts of financial administrators was proclaimed.

The Directorate has filled the *Gaceta* (its official organ), with its laws and decrees. The municipal law, which it has decreed, contains no fewer than 600 clauses. The principal points are as follows: (1) The right of suffrage, both active and passive, is granted to women who are heads of families; (2) the voting age is reduced to 23 years; (3) the system of proportional representation is introduced; (4) the cooperative vote; (5) suppression of Mayors directly appointed by the central Government (de real orden); (6) the municipality's right to conduct its local affairs and to have recourse to the referendum; (7) appeal to the Governor replaced by appeal to Judges, and so forth.

These measures are undoubtedly excellent. But "quid leges sine moribus?" [What are laws without moral princi-

ples?] Where are the corporations invested with the right to vote? Apart from the few Catholic agricultural labor unions, one can see only here and there a few Socialist unions, which, since the advent of the Dictatorship, have given no signs of life. The Dictator entrusted to a man of indisputable ability the realization of the municipal law above referred to, and though it possessed some defects, it represented on the whole real progress; the law was brought immediately into effect, but whenever one of its provisions was awkward for the Government that provision was simply suppressed. The municipalities are hence, to a large degree, as much controlled by the central power as before.

Another decree of a curious nature had as its object the distribution of ecclesiastical dignities. It created a committee exercising the right of the Crown to recommend candidates for these dignities. This committee included: the Archbishop of Toledo, as permanent President; another Archbishop, two Bishops, a prebendary, a canon and a "beneficer," all appointed by election. Their duty is to draft every year a list of the priests considered worthy of the Bishop's title and to recommend them without further preliminary to the Minister. For ranks other than episcopal, it not only recommends the candidates, but proposes them after passing judgment on their merits. This decree is devised to remove ecclesiastical appointments from the influence of the politicians.

Provincial municipalities and "depu-



Primo de Rivera (right) in Morocco in consultation with the commander of a Spanish Army column (left)

tations" administered by officials directly chosen by the Directorate lead one to regret somewhat the former system. But the governmental delegates, a new office created by the Directorate, deepen this regret to the utmost. Most of these delegates are inexperienced young men who have only a military training. Their aim is to handle citizens as they themselves were handled in the barracks. They recruit them by force in the unions or in the Somaten, a Fascist organization. A system of caciquismo has thus arisen as humiliating, or more so, than that which previously called forth

so many complaints. As a system, it is even more expensive. The districts expend for each delegate annually from 15,000 to 20,000 pesetas, which amounts to 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 pesetas for all Spain, much more than the cost of the former Senate and the Cortes taken together.

6. *The Supreme Tribunal and the Directorate*—The chief event of the month of February, 1924, was the resignation of General Aguilera, President of the Supreme Court constituted to deal with Moroccan affairs. He was forced to resign because of his refusal to pardon General Cavalcanti, one of the military leaders most compromised in the disaster of Morocco. The Dictator imposed his desire that this General, "*persona gratissima*" to the King, should be adjudged not guilty of the terrible accusations brought against him. The Dictator allowed only some subalterns, a Colonel and a Brigadier General to be sentenced to trivial penalties. Moreover, as soon as Cavalcanti's pardon was made public, Primo de Rivera hastened to give him a highly important command. An undercurrent of public indignation and anger grew into a raging torrent when it was learned that Aguilera had resigned. It was immediately reported that the resignation was due to reasons of health. No one believed this. Aguilera was replaced by General Weyler. Weyler did not dare to condemn Berenguer, Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Morocco, when it was decimated by the slaughter organized by the Moors at Anual. Berenguer possessed letters which the King was reported to have addressed directly to General Silvestre charging him to undertake what Berenguer considered it was imprudent to attempt.

In short, the official sponge was drawn over the past in order to compromise no one. As a sop of consolation to public opinion the authorities inflicted a few months of arrest on certain leaders. The civilian administrators were also left untouched for the same reasons, viz.: in order not to reveal

what reasons of state required should be kept hidden. The pronunciamiento drafted to punish those guilty of the Anual disaster ended in a general decision of *nolle prosequi*. A little later Berenguer was condemned to six months' military imprisonment for having attended a meeting at the Ateneo where some speeches of a revolutionary tendency were delivered.

7. *Foundation of the "Patriotic Union"*—The Dictator founded a Patriotic Union. But this union at first glance shows itself to be a tool of the dictatorship. He declared that it would be "an association of men of good faith representing all social classes," but he added that all who belonged to the old political parties and all who rejected the Constitution of 1870, that is, the present monarchical régime, would be excluded from membership. It is clear that outside the old parties the only elements interested in politics are the military juntas and the Loyalist, Carlist Catholics above referred to. The rest of the nation has no part in politics. Hence the Patriotic Union will comprise only the partisan members which it possesses today.

PUBLIC OPINION HOSTILE TO DICTATOR

Such is the record of the dictatorship in Spain. During the first days of the revolution many people, tired of the incapacity of the former Governments, though remaining neutral, gave their confidence to Primo de Rivera. Today, after the defeats in Morocco, where at least 20,000 Spanish soldiers have perished, after the waste of money, after the colossal blunders committed in Catalonia and in the Basque Provinces, after the reign of terror established throughout the country, there is scarcely a clear-sighted and patriotic Spaniard who does not desire the fall of the dictatorship. One of these is the Canon Arboleya of Oviedo, who, like so many others, greeted with enthusiasm the advent of the Directorate.

But all this does not prove that the fall of the dictatorship is imminent. It may disappear tomorrow or last for

some time longer, in view of the apathy of the nation as a whole. Only a military revolt can overthrow a military dictatorship. And it is beyond doubt that certain elements in the army are active in their opposition. Generals of eminent rank have been arrested, among them notably General Berenguer, former High Commissioner in Africa, who enjoys in military circles, especially in Morocco, great prestige and popularity.

The French elections showing a Left reaction had a profound repercussion in Spain. The leaders of the former political groups: Sanchez Guerra (Conservative), the Marquis de Albuemas (Liberal), Lerroux (Republican), met in Paris in July, 1924, to discuss the future of Spain. Lerroux made the following statement to a Left paper of Paris:

Just as it is not possible that the parties which have governed with the King should return to power, it is also impossible that the King should improvise a party able to govern the country. With all my fellow citizens solicitous about the future of Spain, I therefore consider that the hour for King's abdication has struck. I consider that if the King is a Spanish patriot he is bound to abdicate voluntarily. If he does not abdicate, he will force Spain to make the effort necessary to restore the Constitutional régime.

At this same time Señor Maura wrote:

The dictatorship which has prevailed since last year, despite its abnormal and transitory character, has neither desired nor been able to limit itself to administering the power which it received from the overthrow of those who formerly held it, as a provisional duty foreign to its legitimate obligations. It has neither hastened nor encouraged the formation of a government adapted to preparing a return to normal life, a government which, if that object proved impossible of realization, would be replaced by one based on the confidence of the whole nation. The present dictatorship seems to assume that it is not urgent to restore the army to its proper state of discipline, without which one can foresee only disaster both for itself and for us. Despite its bold retention of power, it has not even been intelligent enough to initiate new measures, the necessity of which is manifest, and which are obstructed by vicious interests. The art of living an easy life by rejecting all sacrifices and avoid-



Underwood

COUNT DE ROMANONES
Former Premier of Spain

ing all difficulties, has never been so consistently practiced as now.

So Señor Maura thus expressed himself in a letter written to one of his political friends in Barcelona. Señor Maura is the former leader of the Spanish Conservatives and an excellent Catholic, who enjoys extraordinary prestige among all parties as an honest man, if not a brilliant statesman. The Dictator at first forbade the publication of this letter. It circulated, however, secretly throughout all Spain with another manifesto drawn up by Maura's son, Señor Maura y Gamazo, and by Señor Ossorio-Gallardo, former President of the Social Popular Party; and as it circulated it was covered by thousands of signatures. Primo de Rivera thought he could diminish the effect of Maura's letter by publishing it with a refutation which he issued in the name of the Directorate.

The Directorate is opposed by the whole Spanish press, with the exception of *El Debate*, its provincial followers



Wide World Photos

General Primo de Rivera (left) in consultation with King Alfonso (right) at the Royal Palace in Madrid

and the "loyal" press which obeys the Government's orders. The Dictator is openly supported only by Catholics of Carlist or royalist tendencies, a group separated from the small nucleus animated by Ossorio-Gallardo, who has never bowed before Primo de Rivera, furthermore by the militarists, who realize that their day of power will end with that of General Primo de Rivera. Nevertheless it is well known that a considerable part of the army is opposed to Primo de Rivera. During his recent visit to Morocco, which had as its avowed object the conclusion of peace with the Riff insurgents, he met with such opposition on the part of the Generals and other officers in command that he had to abandon this plan. Involved more and more deeply in hostilities despite himself, he is daily forced to send more reinforcements. In Madrid one cannot meet an officer of any independent judgment who will not say: "This man is a national calamity; yet who can take his place?"

In an interview during January, 1925,

in the *A B C*, a conservative journal very favorable to the directory, Count de Romanones, chief of the Liberal Party and many times President of the Council, spiritedly demanded the calling of the Cortes in convention, as political parties cannot be suppressed by decree but only by public opinion as expressed at elections. Señor de Romanones did not deny the existence of the Parliamentary crisis; but he declared, in accord with other political men of various parties, that it is impossible to govern except by adherence to the Constitution, whatever its defects. He asserted his faith in universal suffrage, which he believed should be methodically reformed.

Evidence abounds to prove that political parties do exist in Spain, but they have no profound influence among the electorate; as a mass, the voters are not interested in public affairs and despise all politicians without distinction. It is for this precise reason that the directorship was so easily established and why it did not encounter serious opposition.

A New Estimate of World War Casualties

By REX F. HARLOW

Research Student and Statistician Who Visited Europe to Compile Figures of World War Casualties

ACCORDING to most recent calculations completed after months of careful research among the Governments of the fifteen belligerent nations in the World War, 8,461,595 men lost their lives and 21,099,935 more were wounded in the conflict. No other war in the history of mankind has approached such gigantic proportions—29,561,530 casualties out of a total mobilized force of 64,683,810 men engaged—an average of one dead out of every eight under arms and one out of every three wounded. Even this average, high as it is, falls far short of the mark set by Rumania. The losses sustained by this little country are the most pitiful and at the same time the most startling of the war. Rumania had under arms 750,000 men, and she lost 335,706 of them, a death toll of 44.76 per cent.

And 120,000 more of her men were wounded, making the combined loss she sustained from dead and wounded 60.76 per cent.—more than six out of every ten men in her army. In marked contrast to this record is that of the United States. While Rumania ranked first in dead among the fifteen nations that participated in the war, the United States came last, for it furnished 4,800,000 men and lost in dead 50,380, or 1.5 per cent. Our wounded totaled 205,690, making 4.3 per cent. loss on that score. Our total loss was less than one-eleventh as great proportionately as that of Rumania. Had we suffered as heavy a proportionate loss as she did, it would have meant 2,250,000 of our troops dead and another 750,000 wounded.

Rumania's percentage of death loss was nearly three times as great as that of any other nation that was engaged in the war, as is indicated by Germany's 17.3 per cent., the next highest loss. But in wounded the record is different. France took first place, with 50.72 per cent.; Austria-Hungary was next, with 46.15 per cent., and Russia was third, with 41.25 per cent. The United States ranks again at the bottom of the list on this score, with 4.3 per cent. Germany lost more men than any other nation. Her 1,773,000 of dead, however, was only 73,000 greater than the number lost by Russia. And France and Austria-Hungary also sustained heavy losses in numbers. France's dead amounted to 1,357,800, while Austria-Hungary's was 1,200,000. The heaviest losses, so far as numbers are concerned, were divided closely between two nations of the Allies and two nations of the Entente. This

TABLE NO. 1—TOTAL NUMBER KILLED AND DIED

Nations Engaged in the War	Total Number Killed and Died	Proportion of All Troops Lost in War	Individual Army Loss
Russia	1,700,000	20.09	14.17
Germany	1,773,000	20.94	17.03
Great Britain..	908,371	10.73	10.08
France	1,357,800	16.11	16.07
Aust.-Hungary..	1,200,000	14.18	15.38
Italy	650,000	7.68	11.57
United States..	50,280	.59	1.05
Turkey	325,000	3.84	11.40
Bulgaria	87,500	1.03	7.38
Rumania	335,706	3.96	44.76
Serbia	45,000	.53	6.36
Belgium	13,716	.16	5.14
Greece	5,000	.05	2.15
Portugal	7,222	.08	7.22
Montenegro ...	3,000	.03	6.00

TABLE NO. 2—WOUNDED AND PERCENTAGE OF LOSS THEREFROM IN EACH ARMY

Nations Engaged in the War	Number Wounded in Each Army	Proportion of Total Strength of Each Army
Russia	4,950,000	41.25
Germany	4,216,058	38.72
Britain	2,090,212	23.47
France	4,216,058	50.72
Austria-Hungary ...	3,620,000	46.15
Italy	947,000	16.68
United States.....	205,690	4.30
Turkey	400,000	14.03
Bulgaria	152,390	12.69
Rumania	120,000	16.00
Serbia	133,148	18.63
Belgium	44,686	16.73
Greece	21,000	9.13
Portugal	13,751	13.75
Montenegro	10,000	20.00

proportion seems to have held true for the remaining members of both groups. The Entente, however, sustained a greater loss than the Allies. The average death loss per nation in the German group was 15.29 per cent. and the wounded loss 24.14 per cent. That of the Allies was: dead, 11.32 per cent.; wounded, 29.7 per cent.

The allied group, which comprised the nations of Great Britain, France, Russia, United States, Italy, Belgium, Rumania, Serbia, Greece, Portugal and Montenegro, had a total mobilized strength of 41,883,810. The strength of the German group—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria—on the other hand was slightly more than half that of the Allies, or 22,858,000. Thus the troops of the eleven allied nations outnumbered the troops of the German nations nearly two to one. Two countries, one from each group, supplied more than a third of the total troops that were engaged in the conflict. Russia mobilized 12,000,000 men and Germany had under arms 11,000,000 men. Considering, however, that Russia dropped out of the fight before the close of the war and that the United States did not really enter until the last year, while almost the entire strength of

the Germans was available and used from the beginning to the end of the conflict, the contest was not nearly as unequal in the fighting men engaged on both sides, as would appear at first sight. Until the Allies were able to break the German lines, which they were not able to do until in 1918, the number of Germans on various battlefronts no doubt was actually nearly as great as the allied forces opposing them. Although the Allies had virtually twice as many men in the war as their enemies, they did not suffer the same ratio of casualties. They lost in dead 5,084,095 and in wounded 12,710,387; at the same time the Germans lost 3,377,500 in dead and 8,388,443 in wounded. The Allies furnished 64.74 per cent. of the total troops in the war, but their loss from dead and wounded was only 60.63 per cent. The Germans, while furnishing 35.36 per cent. of the total war forces, sustained a loss of 39.37 per cent.

Consolidated figures on the forces of all nations during the war are almost beyond human comprehension. Unless we measure them in terms of something familiar, we fail almost entirely to grasp their stupendousness. For instance, when we say that 65,000,000 men were under arms during the war we are impressed, but at the same time the abstractness of such figures makes them mean little to us. On the other hand, when we think in terms of such familiar things as our own country, our own millions of people in cities and towns the country over, we begin to have some understanding of what such figures mean. There were approximately two-thirds as many men under arms during the war as there are people living in the United States today. Almost twice as many men were in the war as there were people living in England at the opening of the war. The number of men killed exceeded by nearly a million the entire pre-war population of Rumania. The war wounded alone would populate Spain as densely as it is populated today.

It would be an interesting study to

TABLE NO. 3—TOTAL MOBILIZED FORCES ENGAGED IN WAR

Nations Engaged in the War	Total Mobilized Forces	Per Cent. of Total War Troops Furnished
Russia	12,000,000	18.52
Germany	11,000,000	17.01
Great Britain.....	8,904,467	13.70
France	8,410,000	13.91
Austro-Hungary	7,800,000	12.05
Italy	5,615,000	8.67
United States.....	4,800,000	7.57
Turkey	2,850,000	4.41
Bulgaria	1,200,000	1.86
Rumania	750,000	1.16
Serbia	707,343	1.02
Belgium	267,000	.42
Greece	230,000	.36
Portugal	100,000	.16
Montenegro	50 000	.08

compare the mortality rates on men of military age in all of the nations that engaged in the war with the death rate of those nations during the war. One could thereby secure a picture of the actual cost of the war in men's lives. Such figures, however, apparently are not available. Neither the Governments of the various belligerent nations nor the larger insurance companies in the United States and Europe have been able to supply them. It would be interesting, also, to make a study of the comparative regulations as regarded age, physical qualifications and the attitude that controlled the placing of men in the various types of service, in each nation during the war. But records on these points are either unavailable or so incomplete as to make their use impossible. One outstanding fact about this war, reflecting a condition very much different from what has existed in previous wars, was that deaths from

disease were considerably less than battle deaths. Full figures of all nations on this point are not available. But in the army of the United States, battle losses were twice as large as deaths from disease. This is indicative of the commanding part played by science in the war.

The facts and figures that have been set forth show two things: first, that war such as that conducted in Europe from 1914 to 1918 has kept pace with the development of other human activities, and is conducted on a scale commensurate with the increased power of the human race; and, second, that in spite of human devices and scientific developments, both of which played a dominant part in the recent conflict, it takes men, millions of them, to make war, just as it always has done. There is another thing the figures show, and that is that war is growing to be too expensive for nations to indulge in it. But when there is added to the enormous cost in wealth the ghastly loss of nearly 30,000,000 of the best young manhood of the civilized world, then there can be no doubt as to the senselessness of war. When the people of the world, the financiers and wealth-loving members of society especially, reach the definite conclusion that war is too expensive, then this frightful disease will be wiped from the face of the earth. Men, millions of them, paid the supreme price of war with their bodies during the world conflict. Avarice and love of power, the evils of envy and greed, were behind it all. When the curtain is raised and those behind the scenes are exposed, then there will be no more 65,000,000 young men marching away to death and destruction.

A Month's World History

Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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NOT for many months has Washington been so quiet and contented as during the period since the adjournment of Congress in March. The Federal departments operated as usual, but were untroubled by legislative committees, hearings, reports and investigations. The one voice still crying in the wilderness was that of Vice President Dawes, who made addresses in various parts of the country; he took for his theme the defects of the rules of the United States Senate. His main point was that one member of the Senate could prevent the bringing of any measure to a vote.

This criticism is equally true of the House of Representatives and of both Houses of all the State Legislatures, in so far as it relates to the great number of measures passed under unanimous consent. There is no way of correcting the difficulty except by doing more business early in the session and requiring at least a rising vote. With respect to the Vice President's complaint that every Senator has the right to speak indefinitely on every question, there is opportunity for reform. Senator Butler, at a Boston luncheon, indicated by joining in a rising vote that he was in favor of "saving" the Senate. Senator Moses of New Hampshire was sure that "the Senate will not revise its rules." A somewhat similar question promised to arise in the House; Representative Frear of Wisconsin, one of the former Third Party leaders, asserted that the House was no better than the Senate, inasmuch as it permitted only five amendments to be offered to the Fordney Tariff bill.

The event of the month in the White House was a mild controversy over the

system by which the ideas of the President are presented to the public. It is the practice of the President to receive Washington correspondents of the important newspapers; these correspondents are privileged to ask him questions in writing, which he answers so far as he thinks advisable. It was intimated on April 10 that the President felt that in this way he was treating the newspaper representatives well; but he objected absolutely to correspondents sending out fabricated stories as to the resignations of Cabinet officers and the personal expenditures of the President.

The newspaper men feel that a President should be more positive in his utterances; but they have learned that President Coolidge prefers to keep his own counsel until his mind is reasonably made up. The Executive expects that he shall not be directly quoted on what he says in the bi-weekly conferences. He has made it clear that he is unwilling to announce policies and to discuss matters when there is nothing vital to be decided or discussed. This trait is illustrated in the following incident: On April 24 the Executive was declared to be interested in a ship subsidy; on May 2, however, Senator Edge of New Jersey, after a conversation with the President, announced that he was sure that President Coolidge had not formed a judgment on that question.

A statement made by the President on April 10 on the fall of the Herriot Ministry in France was construed by French newspapers to be an "interference in the domestic politics of another country," a construction which the President disavowed. The President on April 16 entertained General Machado, President-elect of Cuba, with Cabinet and other

guests, and the suite of the Cuban dig-nitary.

The principal address of the month by the President was made at the annual Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in their new auditorium near the building of the Pan-American Union, Washington. The President continued his policy of economy by reducing the branches and the cost of the National Government service. Some of his callers during the month, who included Ex-Governor Allen of Kansas, tried to convince the President that though economy might be a good thing for the Government, "general business is being injured by this psychology, and there is another small-sized buyers' strike on."

Several important changes took place in executive departments. William S. Culbertson of Kansas was transferred from the Tariff Commission to the post of Minister to Rumania. Inasmuch as Mr. Culbertson's tariff policy did not accord with that of the President, it was expected that the change would facilitate the reaching of a final decision on sugar and other duties. James M. Beck, Solicitor General, and several times Acting Attorney General, resigned on April 30. Fred C. Hicks of New York was appointed Alien Property Custodian, to succeed Thomas W. Miller. John Marshall of West Virginia was made Assistant Attorney General, to succeed Thomas L. Holland of Ohio. Jeannette A. Hyde of Utah has been appointed Collector of Customs at Honolulu.

FEDERAL JUDICIARY

The trial at Great Falls, Mont., of Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana on the charge of using his influence as Senator on behalf of friends who desired favors from departments of the Federal Government came to an end April 24. Most of the witnesses relied upon by the prosecution offered no damaging testimony against the defendant and Wheeler on the stand absolutely denied the only serious testimony against him. In the course of the proceedings, the defense submitted testimony by Captain J. K. Robison, U. S.

N., to the effect that the oil leases had to be rushed through because in 1921 and 1922 "war clouds" made it necessary; and that that was why he had approved and Doheny had received the much criticized leases. The jury, after only ten minutes of deliberation, brought in a verdict of not guilty.

Chief Justice McCoy of the District of Columbia on April 3 quashed indictments against Fall, the two Dohenys and Sinclair, charging bribery and conspiracy to defraud the Government. The technical reason was that a special assistant to the Attorney General was in the room while the case was being presented to the Grand Jury. The civil suits were still pending. A suit to annul the removal of a postmaster by President Coolidge, a power resting on the Constitution and a statute of 1789, also was pending. The Court designated Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania to argue the power of the Senate in the latter action; the case of the Executive was to be argued by Solicitor General Beck.

STATE AND LOCAL

Questions of import and interest arose in several of the States of the Union. The relations of the Governors of the States to their respective Legislatures continued to occupy public attention. [The important decision of the United States Supreme Court on the Kansas Industrial Court is discussed in the following article.] In Massachusetts, during most of the session of the Legislature just closed, a controversy was in progress between Governor Fuller and the two legislative houses. The issue was not so much the thirteen bills vetoed by the Governor as the attempt of the Legislature to break down the budget which had been approved by him. Public opinion supported the Governor, and the Legislature yielded on most of the disputed points.

Governor Smith of New York completed his examination of the "thirty-day bills," left for him by the recently expired legislative session. Including some previous vetoes, the total vetoes were 154 out of 840 on bills which re-

ceived the assent of both houses. Of those 840, 644 were sent to the Governor on the last day of the session. In general, the Governor put out of operation bills raising salaries, including \$16,000,000 which would otherwise have gone to the teachers of New York City. The Governor believes in home rule in cities in such matters, instead of specific acts of the Legislature.

TERRITORIAL

Several questions of territorial rights of the Nation have arisen. The Beebe Deep Sea Expedition discovered an island which has been named Osborn Island and which may possibly be claimed for the United States by right of discovery. A small group of Americans who succeeded in reaching Wrangel Island in the Arctic Ocean have set up a claim that it is United States territory.

Nothing could better show the growth of the Middle West than a recent announcement that there was no longer a Government land office in Kansas, inasmuch as substantially all the Government lands have been taken up. Similar conditions can be found in Missouri and Iowa.

Attempts were being made to induce the Legislature of West Virginia to change the name of that State to Kanawha, a name once adopted by a "Convention of the People of Northwest Virginia" in 1861.

Holding that the town of Lavoie, Wyo., with 1,800 inhabitants, was located on a tract leased by the Government to the Ohio Oil Company, a Federal Court ordered that all the buildings in the town be torn down or removed.

In the last five years 320 cities and towns, including most of the very populous cities, have adopted zoning systems, either by State law or by city ordinance, and those laws have in general been held valid by State and national courts.

A case which has reached the Supreme Court of the United States has been brought by the Seneca Indians of the Cattaraugus Territory, N. Y., descendants of the ancient tribe of Six Nations of Central New York; their claim that

neither Federal nor State Courts have any jurisdiction over them, because they are an independent and sovereign people, is based on a treaty enacted with the United States by the Six Nations in 1794.

PERSONAL STATUS

Michael Karolyi, once President of Hungary, was allowed to enter this country on the promise not to indulge in political agitation. His friends fiercely resented any limitations. He crossed the border into Canada and there (April 8) made a bitter attack on the present Hungarian Government; and declared that American investments in Hungary would not be safe unless the United States insisted upon democracy. He further charged that his "gagging" in America was the work of the Horthy régime.

An immense meeting was held at Madison Square Garden on May 3, Eugene V. Debs being the chief speaker. Debs demanded "to put an end to the capitalist system, wipe it from the earth and establish a working-class republic throughout the world;" but he was clearly out of accord with the Communist element.

At a meeting of the American Society of International Law in Washington on April 24 a remark was made that was erroneously supposed to be a criticism of the Jews. A few days later, on May 3, President Coolidge, at the laying of the cornerstone of the Jewish Community Centre pleaded for national unity, recalling the patriotism of the Jews in America during the Revolution; he asserted that the greatest thing that American citizenship "has done for the Jews has been to receive them and treat them precisely as it has received and treated all others that have come to it."

A difficulty as to personal status has arisen out of the recent act of Congress under which an American woman who marries a foreigner does not ipso facto take his citizenship; and a foreign woman who marries an American retains her citizenship. This has led to de-

America's Dependence on Foreign Goods

By UTHAI VINCENT WILCOX

Author of "Large Imports Vital," "On Our Block," and other works

AMERICA'S vastly increased world trade since the nation became a more active and important factor in international affairs has brought about a significant change from the time when the American people were agriculturally and industrially independent of all foreign supplies. Since the World War, particularly, our imports have become vital to our economic needs and national prosperity. We have so far ceased to be a self-contained nation that we are actually dependent upon our imports for the employment of hundreds of thousands of men and women and certain "essential" industries look to foreign lands for their raw materials.

The National Foreign Trade Council and the Department of Commerce recently asked a large number of domestic manufacturing concerns to list the materials of foreign origin which were essential and helpful in the manufacture of their products. From the large number of replies received it was evident that, while some of the basic materials were obtained in the United States, certain foreign supplies were necessary for the finished product. Some manufacturers stated that they were using nothing from abroad. But analysis showed that the materials used by them and regarded as their raw materials depended in their origin and original process of manufacture on various foreign materials without which they could not have been made. There were still other manufacturers who could not exist at all without imports. According to E. Dana Durand, Statistical Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, imports in 1924 amounted to ap-

proximately \$3,575,000,000. This enormous increase over the years preceding the World War is the most striking indication of the fact that, while the United States continues to maintain a favorable balance of trade and while it possesses the largest and most varied assortment of raw materials in the world, it is still necessary to import a steadily increasing quantity of supplies of every nature from every corner of the globe.

Imports enable the farmer to pay for the goods we send him. Yet it seems to be a habit with us that when we discuss foreign trade we speak only of the exports. We delight in talking about them and producing statistics of their growth. On the other hand we have a queer feeling which amounts almost to a fear of imports. We talk of having an "adverse" trade balance, and forget that an excess of imports indicates that the United States is a creditor nation and is receiving goods in payment of sums owed us. In 1922, for instance, foreign producers, on account of their sales to us, received money or goods to the value of \$3,112,548,000. This large sum not only enabled the foreign producer or manufacturer to pay his labor, finance his business, allow for depreciation, add to his plant; it did more. It put him in a position to buy the additional materials—many of them from us—necessary to keep his enterprise going.

Let us examine our increasing import trade from the materialistic and somewhat selfish viewpoint of the average man, who is not concerned about economics or international affairs; and let us consider first the transportation of imports. In the year 1922 (a year not

as large as 1923, but a closer general average than 1924) American ships carried 33.5 per cent. of imports (valued at more than \$900,000,000) to this country. Inbound freight is essential to the successful operation of an American merchant marine, and also a successful merchant marine benefits directly that vast American industry engaged in manufacturing steel shapes and plates, which builds and repairs ships and which furnishes them with marine engines and other equipment. From the seaports and from across the borders of Canada and Mexico the railroads carried imported products, adding to their business and calling for more equipment and construction. In 1923 Canada sent to the United States \$925,000,000 worth of goods and Mexico \$139,852,000.

A vivid illustration of the dependence of American industry on imports is seen in the steel industry, which is so often referred to as "self-contained." In the

industry as a whole there are twenty separate items, representing sixty countries, that are used either in the composition of certain types of steel or in their manufacture. Several of them, like tin, are either not to be found in this country or, like manganese, vanadium and nickel, are produced in insufficient quantities. All American steel manufacturers may not be so dependent on foreign importations, and, while certain classes of production might continue for an indefinite period without drawing on imports from abroad, the industry as a whole has expanded to such a point that outside supplies are necessary for the steady and continuous maintenance of operations at reasonable capacity. In this connection it is interesting to note the official statement that there was a natural advance in iron ore imports "during November of last year, 219,679 tons coming into this country, as compared with 200,775 tons in October. All together, 1,861,480 tons of iron ore have



Ewing Galloway

Handling bananas, imported from the West Indies, on conveyor belts at New Orleans



Ewing Galloway

Weighing coffee from Brazil on its arrival in New York

been imported during the first eleven months of the year. Manganese ore receipts rose from 9,051 tons in October to 16,577 tons in November, making the total for the January-November period 236,635 tons, a gain of 22 per cent. over the corresponding period of 1923."

One great branch of the steel industry—the manufacture of tin plate—is virtually dependent on imports. Tin is used in countless forms and its handling employs thousands of workers. In 1923 we imported tin to the amount of 70,000 tons, which was a gain of 49 per cent. over the pre-war period. The census reports of the Government show that the tin industry in this country alone is divided between twenty-four establishments employing 3,122 wage earners and representing invested capital of \$34,315,066.

Inseparably interlocked with the steel industry is the great machine industry which manufactures the automobiles, agricultural implements, foundry and machine tools, hardware, building construction materials and almost countless other products. Take the automobiles

alone. Into their manufacture go foreign and domestic aluminum, imported cattle hides for leather cushions, automobile tires and innumerable alloy steels, invariably requiring the use of imported ores. There are 1,974 establishments making automobiles in the United States, employing 69,119 persons. The value of the machines manufactured averages \$408,016,532 a year and is steadily increasing.

Volumes might be written, and doubtless have been, on the dependence of agriculture on imported fertilizers. According to the latest available figures, in 1923 we imported 1,857,866 tons, representing an increase over the previous year of 42 per cent. The basis of the pottery industry is kaolin clay. Kaolin, china and paper clays were imported to the value of \$3,189,846 in 1924, representing an increase of 34,271 tons over 1923. In the manufacture of fruit jars, glass specialties, opal and amber ware for packers and druggists foreign sources are drawn upon to an important degree. The rubber industry, with its scores of branches, depends entirely upon foreign sources of supply.



Ewing Galloway

Imported mahogany logs being unloaded into the water at New Orleans

The textile industries are dependent to a large degree upon imports. There is the raw silk used in so many ways after it enters this country. In 1923 we imported raw silk to the value of \$391,942,000, a gain of 7 per cent. over 1922. These imports represented 10.3 per cent. of the total of all our imports in 1923. Yet we increased them for 1924 by over 2,000,000 pounds. The wool industry in America draws 45 to 50 per cent. of its raw materials from other countries. Cotton, the third branch of the textile industry, finds virtually all its raw material in the United States itself, and consequently is in a class by itself. Nevertheless, we imported manufactured cotton in 1923 to supply our domestic factory needs to the value of \$49,443,000, an increase of 4 per cent. over the previous year.

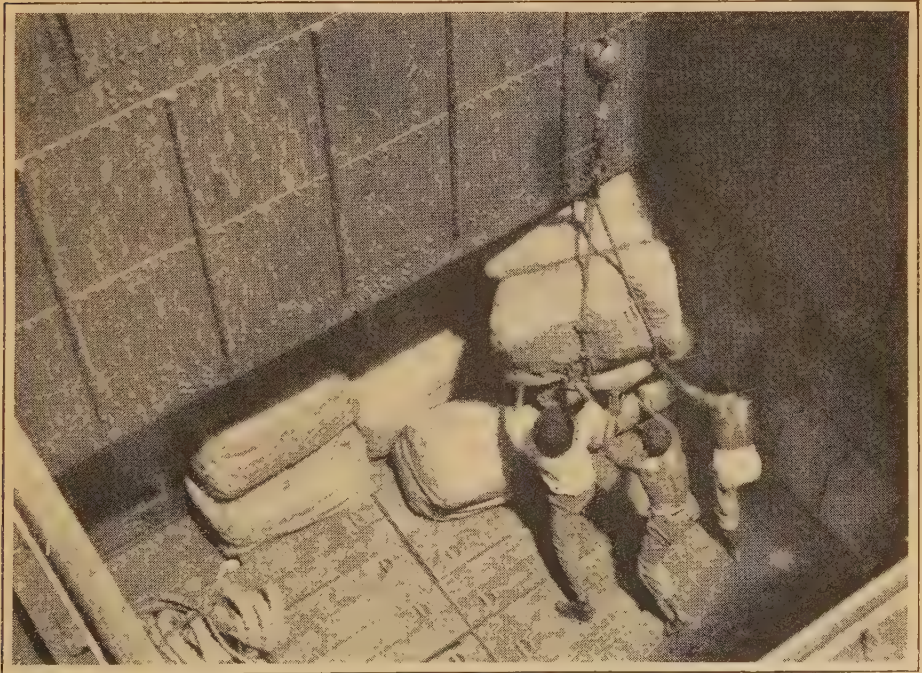
A drug store indicates something of the little thought about imports. Crude drugs and herbs are purchased by American manufacturers from all parts of the world. The East Indies contribute vegetable oils for our bath and shaving soap; the sponge comes from the Caribbean, or the modern imitation from rubber that comes from Brazil or Sumatra. The toothbrush speaks of the Far East,

as do the bristles in the hairbrush. Furs for the women come largely from far-away countries; linens for handkerchiefs, as well as flax, come from Ireland, Canada, Belgium and the Netherlands. Coffee comes from Brazil, tea from the Far East and cocoa from tropical countries. The telephone instrument contains nineteen different substances, many of which are imported, such as aluminum, asphalt, coal, copper, cotton, flax, gold, lead, iron, mica, nickel, platinum, rubber, shellac, silk, silver, tin, wool and zinc. Even our sports and amusements call to the lands afar. Rubber is necessary in baseballs, tennis balls, footballs, and gut from Japan is used for tennis racquets, while India is drawn on for the shafts of polo mallets. The list increases with cork and bamboo, rope fibre, silk fish line, tropical gums for waterproofing and scores of others. The film used in making motion pictures has a base in camphor from Japan and China, and requires also sensitive nitrates that come from Chile and gelatin from Germany. And so hundreds of articles of use in everyday life and industrial processes could be catalogued to show our dependence upon imports.

Mr. Durand of the United States Department of Commerce, speaking of the tabulation of the figures for 1924, which is not yet complete, says that "one of the most striking developments in our trade during the last decade has been the increase in the importations of tropical and other exotic products such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, bananas and other fruits, rubber and silk. The increase in the imports of these articles is attributable to the advancing standard of living in the United States and to its large buying power, with a consequent growing demand for those commodities which we ourselves cannot produce."

The apostle of American isolation is being pursued by these facts every day of his life. Whether we as a nation vote to join the League of Nations or not, we are voting in our daily purchases for a closer attachment to the world family of nations. We not only use the products

of nations that we find it hard to understand politically, but we contribute to their well-being and raise their standard of living. It would be difficult to understand a calamity more far-reaching in its influence on every man, woman and child in the United States than to have to live on the commodities that could be produced only from the raw materials obtained within our own borders. The isolationist is fast losing his foothold in the face of our increasing use of imports. To understand, for example, the place that the products of the Orient have in our scheme of life would prevent a war with any nation in that quarter of the globe should it be made clear that war would deprive us of accustomed luxuries or necessities from there. The only thing that is lacking to make the average American a true cosmopolitan is an appreciation of such facts.



Ewing Galloway

Loading Peruvian cotton in the hold of a steamship bound for the United States

The Methods of Teaching in American Schools

By EDW C. BROOME

Superintendent of Schools, Board of Public Education, Philadelphia; Chairman
of Commission on the Curriculum, Department of Superintendence,
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NO one can give an authoritative answer to the question: Are American children being taught the things they ought to know? Any answer will be only approximately correct, because it takes a generation to determine the effectiveness of a system of schools. The present generation of educated adults can give a reasonably satisfactory answer to this question as applied to the instruction that they received thirty years ago, for they have had an opportunity of testing its value in their own lives. Likewise the present generation of children will be reasonably competent thirty years from now to evaluate the education that they are receiving in the schools of today.

This question, however, cannot be passed over lightly. It strikes at the heart of school practice. We, as responsible educators, must find a tentative answer which will serve as a guide in the selection and organization of the subject matter of the school curriculum. The object of all education is to prepare children to participate as fully and as effectively as possible in the social and industrial life of the community. The difficulty lies in our inability to predict with accuracy what the nature of social and industrial life will be thirty years hence. The experience of past generations, or the practice of the schools in past generations, does not shed much light on the subject. The people of the present day who are constantly referring to the good old days of half a century ago should be reminded that the people of those days were doing the same thing; and so on, back to the beginning of time. In 1845 the members of the School Committee of Boston were so dissatis-

fied with their schools that they ordered an investigation. They were convinced that the schools had deteriorated to an alarming extent as compared with the schools of their boyhood. As far back as 1701 the General Court of Massachusetts vigorously criticized the schools of the day and the neglect of the authorities of the several towns to maintain proper schools, declaring that "the observance of the school law was shamefully neglected by divers towns * * * tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, whereof grievous complaint is made." Similar opinions may be found in newspapers of today in almost any town of the United States. Evidently the good old days when schools were what they should be, and when children were properly behaved, have not yet arrived.

ADAPTING SCHOOLS TO PEOPLE

During each generation there has been a perceptible attempt to adapt the common schools, at any rate, to the needs of the people. The earliest school law of this country, the Massachusetts law of 1647, provided that all children should be taught "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." Considering the fact that illiteracy was the rule among the common people of the day, the chief need of the people was to dispel ignorance. As late as 1800 the sub-

Mr. Edwin C. Broome, after a distinguished university and pedagogical career, became Superintendent of Schools of Philadelphia in 1921. He was Supervisor of Field Work in the Army Educational Corps, A. E. F., from 1918-19. As Chairman of the Commission on the Curriculum, National Education Association, since 1924, Mr. Broome speaks with authority on the nationally important subject discussed in this article.

jects generally taught were the rudiments of English and arithmetic. As late as 1850 we find the same course of study in general use, with the addition of geography and United States history. Up to 1850, or until as late as the Civil War, there was a high degree of adaptability of the school to community needs. Social and industrial life was simple. There were few cities, and only about 15 per cent. of the people lived in cities. People lived mostly on farms or in small villages. The factory system and business corporations, as we know them today, had not come into existence. The boy learned farming on his father's farm; he learned a trade as an apprentice to a mechanic; he acquired the simple business methods of the day in an office. Likewise the girl learned homemaking from her mother. To keep house, or keep school, or to work as a "hand" in the village shop, were the only careers open to girls. The school stepped in and supplied what the farm, the shop or the home could not give; that is, it gave children the rudiments of book-learning, so that they might not grow up in ignorance. In short, the education of the day was well adapted to meet the needs of the simple life of the time. It consisted of experiences on the farm and in the home, supplemented by a brief term in the village school. To call those the "good old days" does not help us. That page in our history has been turned forever, and the perusal of it throws no light on our present-day problem, either in education, industry or business.

Thus far we have considered only the common schools. Brief reference, however, should be made to high schools. The first public high school was established in Boston in 1821. By 1850 there were only thirty-one in the country, and twenty of these were in New England. The purpose of the early high schools was to provide an advanced English education for those who could take advantage of it. The studies of the Boston school were English, declamation, natural philosophy, mathematics, history and logic. Evidently

there was a growing demand for education beyond the rudiments. Several years later we find Latin and Greek added to the high school curriculum, with the apparent purpose of furnishing preparation for college for the few who might be able to go further with their education. These were few, indeed, as a college education was sought only by those who intended to follow one of the learned professions. This was true, in fact, until as late as 1880. The introduction of college preparatory studies into the curriculum of the American high school was a curious digression from the original purpose of the public school; and one difficult to understand, unless it can be ascribed to a consciousness dawning in the American mind that it is a good policy for a democracy to train its own leaders in its own schools. Undoubtedly this purpose has been the dominant force in the tremendous development of high schools and State universities; also of State subsidy of private universities and col-



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Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia



School on a canal-boat attended by children belonging to the canal-boat colony of Washington, D. C.

leges during the last thirty or forty years. The rapid expansion of the public school system in America during the last half century is a great compliment to the ability of the people to appreciate the value of education, but it has brought to the desk of the educator some very difficult problems.

CURRICULUM CHANGES NEEDED

Perhaps the most important issue of the day is that of the curriculum. At the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in Cincinnati, in February, 1925, more interest was displayed in the discussion of the curriculum than of any other subject. One entire session was devoted to this problem, and various phases of the subject were discussed in several other sessions. The department unanimously voted to make a nationwide, cooperative attack during the ensuing year on the problem of reorganizing the curriculum. A commission, which had been appointed at the 1924 session to make a preliminary study, was continued as a coordinating commit-

tee to guide and direct the work. Educators generally feel that the curriculum has grown in a very haphazard way as a result of the tremendous expansion of knowledge during the last fifty years, and that the time for its thorough overhauling is now upon us.

This task cannot be performed by legislators, however well intentioned they may be. Legislatures are composed of laymen who do not understand the child mind, either its possibilities or its limitations. They are also subject to temporary, sectional and political influences. Likewise, local school boards are not in a position to perform the task of curriculum revision. They are usually more concerned with the business and financial aspects of school administration, and they have not the time to make the thorough and patient study of the problem that is required. The work must be done by trained and experienced educators, and it must be done not by isolated and independent efforts but by cooperative enterprise.

Our first task is to study present-day social, cultural and industrial needs in

order to understand what types of educators are best calculated to prepare children to participate most fully and successfully in the civilization of the present generation. Let us briefly consider the social, cultural and industrial state of today. Today over half of America's population dwells in cities of 8,000 population or over. For over half of the population, therefore, the simplicity of rural and village life has disappeared. The apprentice system and the small shop have given place to the factory system and corporate enterprises. Over thirty years ago the distinguished economist, Richard T. Ely, said: "Where combination is possible, competition is impossible." Subsequent developments in industries and business have proved the truth of his statement. When Abraham Lincoln made his memorable trip from Springfield, Ill., to Washington, to be inaugurated as President, he passed through farms and villages. Today he would pass through these, but he would also pass through great cities with factories, smoking chimneys and crowded streets; and he would find the majority of his people living and toiling in these cities. The

books that he and his contemporaries knew were the classics, such as the Bible, Shakespeare, Milton and Bunyan, and the music and art of his day were mostly the masterpieces of past generations. When he arrived in Washington, the Nation's capital, he saw few buildings more than two stories high. There were no electric lights, electric cars, automobiles or even bicycles; no asphalt or cement streets, no moving pictures, phonographs, radios, wireless, airplanes, submarines, telephones, typewriters, dictaphones, comptometers, filing systems, central heating or modern plumbing. There were no tractors, steam plows or harvesters. The germ theory of disease had not been generally accepted and applied to medical practice. Great plagues, such as malaria, yellow fever and smallpox, were common and were periodically expected as the visitation of God upon his sinful people. The simple life of Lincoln's day was about as it had been for a quarter of a century. So were the schools. It was possible and reasonable for men of that day to say: "What was good enough for me is good enough for my children." That is not true today. There has been a greater



An unusually small schoolhouse. It is at South Haven, Long Island, N. Y. When this photograph was taken, the school had only six pupils and five different grades

social and industrial change during the past fifty years than during any half century since time began. Today we are living in a totally different world from that of fifty years ago. If education is to prepare for life, it must be a vastly different thing from what it was in 1870 or 1880. Vast fields of knowledge unknown then are now spread before the student in ever-widening areas. Electricity alone has developed a dozen new arts and a hundred new industries. Agricultural methods have been revolutionized; so have methods of transportation, communication and business. A whole field of modern literature, modern types of music and new conceptions of art are demanding recognition. The World War left us with an international rather than a national conscience. In order to live happily and successfully in this and in the succeeding generation, the child must receive a very different training from the training that his grandfather received or even that which his father received only forty years ago.

PUBLIC SCHOOL "MUDDLES THROUGH"

There are three factors that comprise what we may call the educative process—the child, the subject matter and the instruction. The school has no control over the nature and the capacity of the child. It must accept these as its starting point. The school can, however, determine the subject matter and the character of the instruction. The curriculum includes a statement of the subjects to be taught and a syllabus of the subject matter. It is the keystone of the educational arch and determines the strength of the entire structure. Undoubtedly there are certain methods of instruction that are more economical than others. All teachers recognize this. On the other hand, we frequently find that two good teachers will secure apparently equal results with totally different methods. As stated above, we cannot alter the nature and capacity of the child; and, moreover, method is not the key to the situation. If, then, we are to adapt the school to the social and in-

dustrial needs of the present generation, we must do it through a reorganization of the curriculum. The schools receive their support from public funds. They receive their authority through public laws. They are public servants, not public masters. The schoolmasters study, it is true, and try to anticipate public needs, and they are doing it with considerable success. Unfortunately the American people, as a whole, have not yet learned to place confidence in experts. They have a general feeling that common sense and Yankee ingenuity are more to be trusted than trained intelligence. The professions of law, medicine and engineering fare better in this respect. The average American of today will leave the technique of the law to his lawyer, the diagnosis and treatment of his ailments to his physician and the building of his bridges and skyscrapers to his engineer; but the average American layman, whether educated or otherwise, is willing to debate with the trained and experienced educator almost any educational question, however technical. That explains why Legislatures are so ready to prescribe what shall be taught in the public schools, and how it shall be taught. It helps to explain why good-government clubs and other lay associations more or less affiliated with schools and which are organized with no other purpose than to be helpful, have so frequently in the past endeavored to determine school practice. We must admit, however, that the attitude of such organizations is rapidly changing. The point is, nevertheless, that the expert educator is constantly subjected to conflicting influences, some radical, some progressive and some conservative. Every leader of public education has all these elements in his community and usually in his board of control, and an educator can do only what his board will permit. Perhaps this is as it should be. Conflicting public influences may serve to keep the theorists, as most schoolmasters are regarded, in their place. The result is, however, that the American public school has followed along in the



Car fitted up as a school for the children of men employed by a Southern railroad, which also provides a teacher and school supplies. The families of the men live on the train, which moves about as work requires

rear of social and industrial progress and has "muddled through" without any clearly defined policy.

What are some of the results of this? One is that thousands of American children are being taught subject matter that has been retained in the curriculum for generations, because of sentiment or tradition, or because of the mistaken notion that if a subject is hard to master it must necessarily be beneficial, somewhat after the theory that the harder a dose of medicine is to swallow the more efficacious it is. Although this theory has long since been effectually exploded in both medicine and education, there are still many, even teachers, who hold to it. This helps to explain why thousands of high school students who will eventually go into farming, or business, or manufacturing, are induced to spend four years in the study of Latin and three or four years in the study of higher mathematics. It is true that Latin and higher mathematics have their place in the high school

curriculum, but for a considerably smaller number of students than are studying these subjects today.

In our high schools we devote much time and money to the teaching of modern languages. The majority of high school students take at least one modern language for two, three or four years. Only a small percentage of these students will live or travel in foreign countries or in those remote parts of foreign countries where a knowledge of English will not satisfy their needs. A very few will obtain positions in business firms where a knowledge of a foreign language may occasionally be useful. Bilingualists, however, are in much greater demand for such positions than native Americans. A still smaller number will do scientific research in a university which requires a reading knowledge of French or German. Some of the students will occasionally read for pleasure or profit books and articles in the foreign languages which they have studied. The larger proportion, how-

ever, of the students who are today studying foreign languages in our high schools will never derive any practical benefit from those languages, excepting the doubtful satisfaction of being able to read haltingly a few easy passages or to utter a few simple phrases. I would by no means denounce the teaching of foreign languages in high schools. They must always be a part of the curriculum, and undoubtedly many students should study them more extensively and learn to use them better, but the number for whom the study of a modern language will be a benefit comparable with that of a good course in biology, hygiene, home-making or sociology, is very few indeed.

HIGH SCHOOLS BUILDING FOR FUTURE

Whether the children of this generation, when adults, will live in simple houses, duplex houses, flats, tenements or apartments, intelligent and economical home-making will always be one of the most important occupations of our people. Babies will be born, members of the family will become ill, clothing, furniture and works of art will be bought, and meals will have to be prepared. Whatever some extremists may think about the emancipation of woman, woman, from the very nature of her sex, unless America is to become childless, will be most concerned with and best qualified for home management, the rearing of children and the care of the sick. There is no greater or more important service in the world that that of home-maker. Probably 90 per cent. of the high school girls of the country will be directly engaged in this occupation, and the rest will be happy or unhappy in proportion to the skill with which this task is performed by others in whose homes they will reside. There seems to be little argument against the value of training all girls in the art of intelligent home-making. Yet many critics of the schools still class this subject among the "fads and frills." It is much easier to persuade the average American community to provide liberally for the teaching of all the ancient

and modern languages and mathematics which its high school can give than to introduce courses in home economics, nursing or the care and nurture of children.

Let us pursue this line of thought a little further. The large majority of boys in high school today will probably go into business or into industrial pursuits or into some branch of agriculture. Most high schools, especially in cities, have well-organized business courses. This is one of the best things that our high schools do to the end that children may be "taught the things they ought to know." In most communities, also, some effort is made to prepare students for the industries. Unfortunately, much of this instruction is given with a "disciplinary" or "educational" aim and is not highly useful in connecting the boy with the "job." For one high school that gives a course in auto mechanics, one of the greatest industries in the world today, there are twenty-five that give only formal courses in forging, metal work and cabinetmaking. Many high schools, especially in the Middle West and the South, are giving courses in agriculture, and are making these courses practical by using the home farm and the garden as "proving grounds" for the instruction in the school.

On the whole, the American high schools are teaching most of their pupils what they ought to know. The American people are a practical people and they know when they are getting what they are paying for. In 1850 there were only thirty-one high schools in the United States. Today there are 14,326. This tremendous growth of high schools is the most significant movement in the development of public education. This would not have been possible if the people were not quite well satisfied that their children were learning what they ought to learn.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM NEEDS REFORM

Let us briefly consider the case of the elementary school. On the whole, the

elementary school curriculum is more closely adapted to the needs of the pupils than the high school, because it deals mostly with fundamental subjects, such as English in its several branches of reading, writing, spelling, literature, language, arithmetic, geography, history, civics and hygiene. Usually from 75 to 80 per cent. of instruction time is given to these subjects. The remainder of the time is devoted, in general practice, to drawing and art, handwork, music and natural science. Probably all pupils who pass through the elementary schools should have all these subjects. Practically everywhere these subjects have passed beyond the debatable stage. The problem with the elementary school curriculum is to determine what shall be the content of each subject and in what stage of the course it shall be most stressed. There have been nearly 300 research studies during the last ten or fifteen years devoted to aspects of this problem. Some conclusions that these investigations seem to indicate are these: That considerably more arithmetic is taught than adult life requires; that obsolete processes are still included; that there is too much drill in some processes and too little in others; that there is too much time wasted in learning to spell hundreds of words that the child will meet only in spelling books; that oral reading is overemphasized and silent reading underemphasized; that much reading matter, valueless as literature, is still read for the purposes of drill; that writing is carried in many schools beyond the point of utility in these days when most writing is done on a machine; that in history there is still too much emphasis on battles, campaigns and military heroes and not enough on the political, social, educational, industrial and spiritual development of our nation; that appreciation is not sufficiently emphasized in the teaching of music and art, and that much of the handwork is of the "exercise" type, instead of being vital constructive work that grows out of and into the actual life of the pupils.

A tentative answer to the question proposed at the beginning of this paper, in so far as the elementary school is concerned, is this: The children of our elementary schools are being taught the subjects that they ought to know, but the content of the several subjects should be carefully considered with a view to eliminating much that is useless and supplying some that is better suited to the needs of today.

Our greatest problem is in the high school field. First, the high school is by far the most costly part of the public school system. It is in the high school that the demands of the colleges are directly felt. In the high school, also, the traditional subjects which have descended from the sixteenth century curriculum of John Sturm come into conflict with the modern subjects. Also, as 85 to 90 per cent. of all high school students go no further with their education, it is in the high school that we have our last opportunity "to prepare children to participate as fully and as effectively as possible in the social and industrial life of the community." In order to adapt better our high schools to the needs of students, it will be necessary still further to broaden the field of offerings; to make more use of mental tests and personal studies of students; to extend present provisions for student guidance, so that better judgment will be used than at present in the selection of courses; to make more thorough research studies than have yet been made in the field of occupational requirements. Some of the research suggested will be very difficult and for some of it the technique has not yet been developed. Any one, however, who is familiar with the wonderful progress that educational research has made during the last ten years can readily believe that it will be possible in a few years to evaluate the subjects of the curriculum so that educators will be able to state with a reasonable degree of certainty that their pupils "are being taught the things that they ought to know."

Canada Reaping a Harvest From Liquor Business

By WILLIAM J. McNULTY.

American Newspaper Correspondent, Author and Student of Canadian Affairs

EXPORTS of whisky, gin, beer, ale and porter from Canada into the United States during 1924, according to official sources of information, increased 200 per cent. over the figures for 1922. This refers to that legitimately produced in Canadian distilleries and breweries and exported for "medicinal purposes" into the United States, but not including any part of the liquor smuggled into the United States from Canada by land and water, which is estimated at about fifty times the quantity disclosed in the official statement. The official figures for these exports in 1922 were \$3,081,000; in 1923, \$7,780,000, and in 1924, approximately \$10,000,000.

During the three months of April, May and June, 1924, Canadian exports of liquor to the United States totaled \$3,210,000. Of this amount \$2,052,000 officially went into the United States direct from Canada. An illuminating feature, and a somewhat staggering fact, is that the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, with a population varying from 4,000 to 12,000, imported whisky to the value of \$355,200 in those three months. All this liquor eventually found its way into the United States, the shipment to St. Pierre and Miquelon being merely camouflage. In most instances the whisky was never even received there for trans-shipment to the United States. It is even in the records that Canada legally and officially exported during the same period whisky to the value of \$55,681 to Great Britain, which includes Scotland, where whisky is as plentiful as milk on a dairy farm. Needless to state, this is only another

subterfuge. Exports to Bermuda during the three months totaled \$285,636 in whisky alone. In this case, too, the ships transporting the liquor cleared for Bermuda but were bound for points on the Atlantic seaboard between Maine and Florida. In the same category, too, were the exports of whisky from Canada to the British West Indies, which were valued at \$202,314.

On the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon are scores of crude distilleries where whisky, gin, brandy and wine are manufactured one day and shipped the following day as matured products. Some of these distilleries are mere sheds, containing apparatus only slightly more elaborate than in one of the modern Canadian stills. In the British West Indies, which includes the Bahamas and Jamaica, rum is produced in very large quantities. Distilleries for the production of whisky and gin, particularly whisky, have also been opened in these islands. In the Bermudas distilleries have been established for the manufacture of whisky, although rum is the native beverage. It thus becomes apparent that the export of liquor allegedly to such manufacturing centres of liquor is part of a gigantic fraud.

The figures that have been quoted do not include the exportation of liquor into the United States without the formality of clearing at the Canadian customs houses, nor the quantity of whisky and gin produced and shipped legally, in so far as the Dominion is concerned, ostensibly to the West Indies. Moreover, it is impossible to secure precise figures for shipments to the United States by motor car and rail,

supplemented by horse and wagon or sleigh. Across the international boundary between the Bay of Fundy and the Great Lakes every day there are driven sleds ostensibly containing pulpwood, the logs being hollowed and bottles of liquor concealed inside. Hundreds of thousands of bottles of whisky have been shipped across the line in this way.

MORE EXTENSIVE MARKET

Before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States the distilleries of Canada had to be content with selling the bulk of their product in the Dominion, but now they have a much more extensive market to serve. And it must be stated that the Canadian distilleries have arisen manfully to the task and have striven to satiate the thirst of the great republic to the south. Four hundred per cent. more whisky is being manufactured legally in distilleries now than before the adoption of prohibition in the United States. At the same time it has been easy to sell whisky at prices increased about 300 per cent. and more in some instances while production costs are lower. Is it any wonder that the distilleries today provide one of the most satisfactory investments to be found in Canada? The stock of practically all the old plants is listed on the Stock Exchanges of Montreal and Toronto, and has fluctuated less than any other industrial stock on either exchange, with prices remaining remarkably firm and tending to rise rather than drop. One of the larger distilleries is reported as showing a profit on its operation of \$20,000,000 during 1924, and this despite a general increase in salaries and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands on expansion projects. The lowest distillery profit during 1924 was reported at \$10,000,000. Some of the distilleries are believed to have earned profits reaching even higher than the figures quoted.

An interesting contrast is provided by the whisky export figures during

April, May and June for the last three years. These legal exports from Canadian distilleries amounted to \$2,000,000 in 1924, \$1,181,101 in 1923 and \$555,612 in 1922. Add to this the value of whisky sold in Canada and one can understand the amazing profits made by Canadian distilleries. The capacity of the plants has been increased from 30 to 100 per cent.; old buildings have been enlarged and new ones built; and yet the Canadian distilleries are unable to keep pace with the demand for liquor from the United States.

Gin is another intoxicant that has been exported from Canada to the United States in increasing quantities. During 1924 approximately \$105,000 worth of gin was exported legally and officially into the United States. During the three months of April, May and June the gin exports were \$14,346 as against \$597 in the same three months of the preceding year. Canadian gin has not reached the degree of popularity in the United States attained by foreign gin, and so far is unable to compete with the Dutch, German or Swiss product. Analysis of the exports of ale, beer and porter from Canadian breweries legally and officially for consumption in the United States show that during April, May and June, 1924, the value of exports totaled \$1,128,384. For the same three months in 1923 the figures were \$1,142,067 and for 1922 \$693,610.

The legally but not actually dry United States proved as much a source of profit for the brewers as for the distillers of Canada. During 1924 approximately 2,975,000 gallons of ale, beer and porter were shipped officially into the United States from Canadian breweries apparently with the consent of the United States Government. Sur-reptitiously, the exports were considerably greater. A number of the breweries that were bankrupt just before the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States are now flourishing and unable to supply the demand on them. Ostensibly much of

the liquor is shipped to the West Indies, but it never reaches those islands. If it does land there it is held for immediate reshipment to the United States. There are practically no restrictions on the shipment in the Canadian Provinces that have prohibition laws, because of definite arrangements perfected with politicians who in turn deliver certain and specific orders to the prohibition enforcement officers. Since Canada has no Federal prohibition law each Province exercises its own powers in the enforcement of whatever laws it has adopted. In this way enforcement is handed over to politicians.

BREWERS' PROFITS

Ale, beer and porter are shipped through the prohibition Provinces in large and small barrels and kegs, ranging in capacity from five gallons to one hundred gallons. Ninety-five per cent. of these beverages are impure because sufficient time is not allowed for the maturing processes. Large quantities are shipped to centres along the border and thence smuggled over the line. The cost of production has been reduced but the prices have been greatly increased. As an apt illustration, let us mention that beer sold before the enactment of the Volstead statute at 10 cents a bottle now commands 30 to 40 cents a bottle. The prices exacted from consumers in Canada are somewhat less than in the United States, but nevertheless exorbitant. In the very shadow of the breweries the lowest price for beer is 30 cents a bottle. Attracted by the immense profits made from the operation of breweries, former clergymen, lawyers, manufacturers, merchants and others of equal social standing are investing in the brewing industry. In one instance the controlling interest is held by an ex-clergyman. In two years this brewery was converted from a losing venture into a great financial success and each month finds the profits growing greater. Shipments to private homes by the case, keg and barrel are made openly

by the many motor and horse-drawn delivery wagons maintained by each brewery.

Two years before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment a large brewery in Eastern Canada was offered for sale. Ownership had been in one family for over seventy-five years. Bankruptcy proceedings followed several unsatisfactory years. The plant was closed and remained so for about eighteen months. A banking institution remained in control of the property. Following the adoption of prohibition in the United States the property was taken over by a new group. Operation was resumed. The purchase price was about one-fifth of the valuation. In 1922 business started to respond and the volume of trade is now 300 per cent. higher than ever in the history of the plant, even in the most prosperous days before prohibition.

The Canadian brewers have found that despite the inferior quality of their beer, ale and porter the demand from the United States continues to increase. As long as this is the case just so long will the brewery products continue to be impure. Analysts have reported finding much ether, particularly in beer and ale. Chloroform is another substance used in the manufacture of beer and ale. Artificial colorings are also being used to replace the natural color, which is lacking because of attempts to force the beverages to mature at once. Three small glasses of most of the beer manufactured today will, because of the foreign substances, produce intoxication. Such liquor is also highly injurious to health, affecting the stomach, kidneys, liver and intestines. Chronic kidney and stomach ailments have been caused, while the effect on the heart has also been unfavorable. There may be some really pure beer, ale and porter manufactured but it is not exported to the United States or sold for general consumption in Canada. The average monthly exportation of the beverages grouped under ale and porter

from Canadian breweries to the United States by the official route was 223,000 gallons during the final three months of 1924. This was in contrast with an average monthly exportation of 110,000 gallons during 1922. Most of the beverages in this group consisted of ale and beer, but the consumption of porter in the United States increased.

LOW PRODUCTION COSTS

The cost of producing a bottle of beer in a Canadian brewery is estimated at from 2 to 4 cents. Some estimates place the minimum cost at 1 cent and the maximum at 2 cents. The average profit to the brewer is 17 cents per pint bottle. On a gallon the average profit is \$1.36. On the legal, officially reported exports of beer, ale and porter alone there would be profits aggregating \$340,000 monthly during the latter part of 1924. Ale and porter does not cost much more to manufacture and the profits are slightly larger. Add to this the profits accruing from the smuggled beer, ale and porter and one can readily comprehend why brewing companies in Canada are making such huge profits.

The estimated cost of manufacturing whisky is from 5 to 20 cents per quart, the average being about 10 cents. The minimum price per quart received by the distiller is \$2.50, but the price to the consumer varies from \$5 to \$15 per quart. By the case the price is somewhat lower. The average profit per gallon is not less than \$10, which would mean a profit on legal exportation alone of at least \$1,100,000 monthly. On higher priced whisky the profits have been even greater. There are in addition the profits derived from sales in Canada. Each Province of the Dominion is buying large quantities of whisky monthly. This is so even in the Provinces where prohibition has been continued, there being a Board of Liquor Commissioners in each of these Provinces to supply the holders of ven-

dorship licenses. In the smaller Provinces a turnover of as high as \$1,000,000 was reported for 1923 while for 1924 it was still higher. Apparently the number of sick people for whom liquor was required as medicine grew surprisingly, judging from the gross sales in the prohibition Provinces. Druggists obtain vendorship licenses and enter into competition as to who can dispose of the most liquor with and without medical prescriptions. Collusion with the less reputable physicians results in a deluge of prescriptions.

During 1923 and 1924 brewing and distilling plants sprang up like mushrooms in Canada, the product being directed mostly toward the Atlantic Coast and along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes into the United States. These exports do not appear in the official statistics, but there are exports nevertheless. In one centre on the coast with about 25,000 population are located no fewer than twelve "bottling" plants, all of which manufacture beer and ale or confine their attention to beer or mingle the beer and ale with whisky and gin. Periodical raids are made by enforcement officers who seize a barrel or two containing beer, overlooking the higher priced whisky and gin. A small fine is imposed and business proceeds uninterrupted, for the great American thirst must be appeased. Too many powerful politicians are involved in the traffic for there to be any serious attempt to check it. The only individuals imprisoned for persistent infractions of the Canadian prohibition laws are the small and unsuccessful competitors.

Canada's most profitable industry today is the manufacture of the poisonous liquor which is poured into the United States. Fortunes are made over night. If the Eighteenth Amendment remains intact until 1930 some of the leading liquor manufacturers of Canada will be worth billions instead of millions of dollars.

Challenge of Socialism in Great Britain

By SIR EDGAR JONES

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THE phenomenon of a Socialist Government in Great Britain was of interest to the world, for events are of more significance than ideas, and communistic theories of property and social organization are as old as society. The specific negative exposition by Karl Marx of the unsocial effects of capital, or the concrete proposals for nationalizing mines by exchange of stock, are only illustrations of the same basic doctrine, which in various ways with varying illustrations have been expounded in England throughout the centuries from Wat Tyler to Robert Owen, from the Chartists to Sidney Webb.

Taking as our starting point the general election of 1906, we find that the Conservative and Radical Parties (the old term Radical is more illuminating than Liberal) were locked in a fierce struggle about religious education in the primary schools. Here we still could see the England of tradition—the parson, priest, Established and Catholic Church on the one side, fighting with medieval fervor, and the successors of the Lollards, Levellers, Dissenters and Chartists battling for a radical change. The Radicals swept the country with an unprecedented electoral completeness, and after a few years in clearing the ground initiated in 1908 the amazing radical and industrial measures that will be referred to later.

The four years preceding the event of 1906 were noteworthy. Joseph Chamberlain had captured the ear of the country for a trade policy of protection and imperial preference; but Lord (then Mr.) Balfour in 1902, by raising the issue of religious education, stirred ancient passions that were not quite dead,

and fanned them to a raging conflagration. The Conservative Party was caught up in this, and the scaffolding of the Chamberlain policy was burned away with the rest. Behind the conflagration that was occupying the attention of Conservative and Radical, the forces that under Ramsay MacDonald later captured the machinery of government were busy. The Independent Labor Party that was fostering MacDonald and Philip Snowden had secured a parliamentary foothold in 1900 by the election of Keir Hardie for Merthyr Tydfil; that success was a surprise and due to accidental local circumstances.

How did a survey of the situation appear to Keir Hardie at that time? He had the vision to perceive a new mentality in the mass. What was the change he noted? Lawyers are prone to attribute it to the Trades Disputes act which set trades unions outside the law; but that act was not a potent cause of the change, but a symbol of it. The change had been steadily coming as a process of slow but inevitable evolution.

In 1870, when popular education became an affair of the State, England was still dominated by the religious forces, and from then to 1906 religious difficulties constantly cropped up, and when they did their intensity of appeal to the interest of the populace was sufficient to place them first as the governing issues at elections. The Irish Church and Catholic questions inspiring the general political problem of Ireland remained as a predominant issue until recently. The Welsh Church, Scotch Church, religious education, were also active in controversy. Generally speaking, the political alignment was reli-

gious. Where Nonconformity was strong (more particularly as Baptists, Congregationalists, Primitive and Calvinistic Methodists or Free Presbyterians) the ministers and leaders were Radicals and opposed in political activities to the Established Church, whose adherents were traditionally Conservatives. The Wesleyan Methodists on the whole occupied a middle position, but when, as in 1902-6, a specific religious issue became acute they threw their weight with the Radicals.

FIRST LABOR ORGANIZATION

As to Labor, there were several substantial associations or unions of workmen, and the nation-wide Trades Union Congress was in being. Such unions, however, were devoting themselves fairly strictly to wages and industrial questions and not dealing seriously with wider general political affairs. A few of the more powerful workmen's leaders secured election to Parliament by arrangement with the Liberals. These members were known as Liberal-Labor. This was a natural coalition. In those early days the active trades unionists cooperated generally with the Radicals. The leaders among them were usually active workers and speakers of one or the other of the Nonconformist religious denominations. On the whole, the bodies of Nonconformist workingmen

continued to regard professional men and leading manufacturers who were Radicals in politics and liberal in their treatment of the workmen as their political leaders. The workingmen had very little confidence in their own agitators and leaders in general, social and political affairs. Many benefit clubs, friendly societies and cooperative stores, started by and for workingmen, were wont to end in thefts, frauds, mismanagement, loss and disaster. Neverthe-



The late James Keir Hardie as he appeared addressing a peace meeting in Trafalgar Square, London, on Sunday, Aug. 2, 1914



Wide World Photos

WINSTON CHURCHILL

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, photographed while addressing an election meeting in March, 1924

less, the people continued with courage and patience to worry through to success in such ventures.

Popular education and the spread of reading of newspapers and books brought about increased intelligence and efficiency. In and around the Nonconformist churches and Sunday schools workmen and their families participated more and more in speaking, organizing, committee work, discipline, and general intellectual and social self-help. Gradually working men and their families acquired confidence in their capacity to manage their own uplifting agencies, and the friendly societies found solidity and developed into great substantial financial corporations. The cooperative stores found the way to sound business

and prosperity and grew to enormous successful trading concerns.

Thus was a soil cleared, plowed and fertilized for profitable sowing, and the Independent Labor Party began to educate and train the younger men and women in the ways and means by which Socialist doctrines could be applied to specific acts of social and industrial improvement. There were other societies; weekly newspapers were started, and powerful pamphlets appeared and were circulated widely. But it was through the Independent Labor Party that the master move came to be made, and that mainly because of Keir Hardie's tenacity.

Keir Hardie, surveying the situation in 1900, saw the mass of the workmen ready and full of self-confidence, as has already been explained. The Liberal Party, however, through its radical element in policy and personnel, retained the sympathy of the trades unions, Nonconformist Church organizations and the radical workmen. To Keir Hardie's mind this meant a long period of half measures or bastard measures of reform, which, while attracting the masses, did not effect any real advance toward better conditions, and would not within any reasonable time bring about the economic salvation from low wages and unsatisfactory living conditions which they sought. In this view he was confirmed because of the growing number of rich manufacturers, merchants and landowners, who allied themselves to and financed the Liberal organization. Sops delivered by such hands were in his view designed to delay and postpone radical reforms. He decided, therefore, to have a Cromwellian purge. He declared for a literally independent Labor Party. In favorable industrial areas, where he could see a chance for a régime of workmen, independent of all professional or capitalist connections, he ruthlessly advocated the smashing of the Liberals.

The strategy thought out by Keir Hardie was sound and intelligible. If he could get the Liberals out of the way and have a straight fight with the Con-

servative-landlord-stockholder interests, he could then keep the mass vote of the great majority who were "workers" solid for the election of a Parliament that could enact full-blooded Socialist reforms. His followers set to work to get the local committees of workmen, whether of social institutes, trades unions or cooperative societies, to accept that standpoint of independence and exclusiveness, and, better still, to secure election for themselves on such bodies. This was the activity that became open and aggressive from 1900 to 1908, during the religious conflagration that engrossed the energies of the Conservatives and Liberals. Sufficient progress had been made by 1906 to carry twenty-six members to Parliament who were to be Labor without acknowledgment of any closer adherence to Liberal than to Conservative. A number of those elected representatives were, however, still of the "old-fashioned" type; that is to say, they were active Nonconformist leaders and at heart in favor of cooperation with the Liberals and in doctrine not Socialist but Radical.



AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN
British Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs

KEIR HARDIE'S INFLUENCE

But Keir Hardie was unyielding. He clung to the rock of independence with grim determination, and he kept his young men who were now controlling the local bodies firm like himself on that rock. Town Councils, urban Councils, county Councils, poor-law guardians and every sort of local administrative body were steadily filled with Labor representatives. Usually, at first, these representatives were personally of the "old-fashioned" type—Radicals and Nonconformists; but though they wriggled and prevaricated they were compelled by the young men to remain officially "independent." The district and national federations and congresses in time became leavened with these young men and later young women, and Hardie continually forced the pace. The programs of these larger bodies began to appear with pages of resolutions on all sorts of general political subjects asserting the Socialist view. At first there were many failures to secure endorsement, but gradually Hardie and his independents, by their zeal and compact organization, captured the voting power. The whole of organized labor, and to a considerable extent the cooperative societies, became pledged to these resolutions. Having secured such an overruling authority, Hardie's men forced all labor representatives to show outward adhesion to them, even if in their own secret minds and hearts they reserved judgment. Above all, they were compelled to toe the line of independence.

In 1914 the Labor members of Parliament numbered forty-two. But a considerable number of them were naturally inclined to be Radicals rather than Socialists and to prefer cooperation with other Radicals to the hard, stony path of exclusive independence. By now, however, Hardie's independents were too strong. At delegate conferences they asserted themselves with uncompromising and menacing effectiveness. Some of the older men showed fight, but they were in the end broken by the steel of Hardie's firmness. A

formal organization of an official Labor Party was achieved by incorporating the trades unions and Socialist societies for united political action.

In 1916, the year in which Hardie fell sick and died, Asquith, urged by Lloyd George, decided to bring Conservative leaders and Labor leaders into a Coalition Government that would represent all parties in the State and thus let the responsibility for the conduct of the war be borne by all as representing the whole nation irrespective of other political differences. Over this move there was a bitter fight within the Labor Party. MacDonald, Snowden and the Independents were opposed to participation, but the trades union men, like Henderson, Bruce, Barnes, Hodge, Clynes and others, accepted office and carried the Labor conference in favor of their action. Later, when Lloyd George took Asquith's place as Premier, the Labor men remained and others were added. In 1918, however, with a general election approaching, there was a Labor conference, and, although the Labor members of the Government fought hard to remain in, they were ordered out, and out they went, leaving Lloyd George with a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives and a few Labor men who defied the mandate of the conference. Thus independence was again asserted, and Hardie's policy restored.

The Labor men who had occupied administrative posts during the war coalition, impressed the country with their patriotism, common sense, safe-moving practice and constitutional instincts. They thus created an atmosphere of hope and confidence that brought large numbers of the professional classes over to their camp and prepared the national mind for the prospect of a Labor Government. Therefore, when the erstwhile Conservative supporters of Lloyd George broke up his coalition in 1922, and the party heritage of bitterness among the official Liberals adhering to the leadership of Asquith operated to swell the opposition to Lloyd George, the Labor forces gained an electoral op-

portunity. With 142 members out of 615 in the House of Commons, they became the responsible official opposition and prospective alternative Government.

THE 1923 ELECTION

Baldwin's surprise election in 1923, leading to the reunion of the Liberals, on the protective issue, while adding to the number of Liberal members and to the Labor members, still left Labor as the second party, and official opposition and first alternative Government. So, with only 192 members out of 615, Labor formed a Government, refusing to enter into any alliance or compacts, but remaining independent for victory as it had for the long-drawn battle for power.

The temper and acts of the Labor Government were in accord with the historical development. Lloyd George and the Liberals gave their votes steadily for the maintenance in power of the Labor Ministry and complained bitterly in public because the Labor Ministers and members showed no gratitude. They openly expressed their intention of wiping out the Liberals as an unnecessary and inconvenient party, confusing the issue between the Radical Socialist movement and the Conservative interests. At by-elections a Labor candidate was put up and in the fight between Socialist and Conservative the Liberal was squeezed to the bottom of the poll, and, indeed, to a poll so small as to indicate that the mass of the voters took the view that the real issue in Britain was now between a Socialist conception of government—both national and municipal—and the existing order.

Even the Liberals themselves were oppressed by the trend of events. Some of their leaders, like Churchill, were for cooperation with the Conservatives; others, like Sir John Simon and Masterman, for cooperation with the Socialists. The Conservatives welcomed and encouraged the approach to them; but the Socialists jeered at and repelled any proffered cooperation. Meanwhile, Lloyd George, having been cast out by the Conservatives and repelled by the

Socialists, with his extraordinary resourcefulness and energy endeavored to prove that there was a middle way, the old-fashioned way of Liberalism.

The foreign policy of the MacDonald Government was safe and progressive and the Liberals heartily supported it. Snowden's budget was hailed by the Liberals as an excellent Liberal type of budget. In all departments the Administration was conducted on safe lines, just as any good Liberal Ministers would have administered. Indeed, the Liberals actively complained not of the radical nature of the Administration, but of its conservatism. The Liberals screamed for the houses that Labor had promised to build, which were not forthcoming; for the employment that Labor promised to provide, which was not provided, and against military expenditure and the building of new cruisers, which Labor had always denounced. The impatient aggressive elements in the Labor Party became depressed, disappointed and restless. This performance was entirely different from the visions that had been screened before the multitudes all over the country. More than that, the conventional conduct of the Ministers was entirely opposed to the conception of such conduct that had existed in the imaginations of Labor agitators.

THE RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

Toward the Autumn of 1924 two issues attracted the attention of the public. The first was the agreement with the Soviet representatives from Russia. For many months those representatives had participated in conferences with MacDonald as Foreign Secretary and with other Ministers. All of them dealt with the impracticable demands and schemes of the Russians as any Liberal



Bassano

LORD BIRKENHEAD

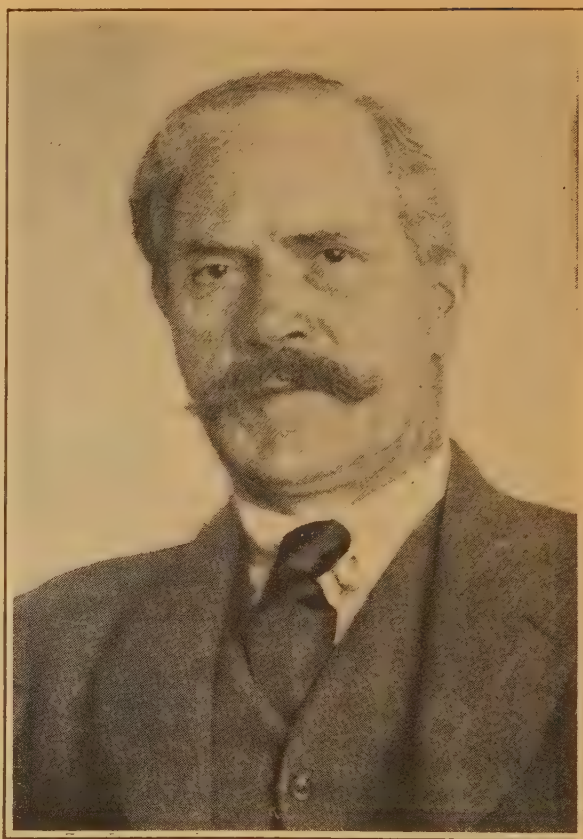
Secretary of State for India in the present British Cabinet

Ministers might have dealt with them, and eventually the proceedings came toward a conclusion that meant a failure to arrive at any agreement. Then the aggressive Labor element set to work and cracked the whip so dangerously that MacDonald in desperation plunged into a hypothetical and meaningless form of agreement which was dramatic but disastrous for himself and his Government. On one hand the vociferous pro-Russian Labor elements were disgusted because they knew that in reality the agreement was a sham and on the other hand the Liberals were cursed by all their supporters in the country for lending their countenance to main-

tain in power the Ministers who had perpetrated such proposals. It became clear that unless the Liberals dissociated themselves at once from such Ministers, their adherents in the country would abandon them, and their party would not only be dead but buried beyond any resurrection.

The second issue was not in itself important, but of great consequence as a symptom of evil. The prosecution of a Communist journalist was instituted and again the wild Labor men cracked the whip and MacDonald withdrew the prosecution. To the lawyers and the professional men who are, as they always have been, a powerful element in the Liberal Party, this was a fundamental sin against all the commandments upon which a modern Government can exist and a modern society conduct itself with discipline and responsibility for law and order. It was impossible for the Liberals to delay any further to declare themselves emphatically, regardless of the consequences. They therefore proposed a vote of censure on the Labor Government, which was supported with enthusiasm by the whole mass of the Conservatives, and the Labor Government was defeated and compelled to resign. Within three weeks the parties were facing the decision of the country at the polling booths.

The result of the election was overwhelming. The strength of the Labor Party was reduced from 192 to 152 members. The Conservatives increased from 257 to 412, but the Liberal Party was almost wiped out, returning with only 42 members. What had happened can be easily explained. In the ranks of the Labor Party there was disap-



JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD
Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the first British
Labor Government

pointment and disillusionment. Its canvassers and workers had lost the highly colored promises of houses and employment and improved conditions that they had used with such effect at previous elections. The record of its ineptitude and failure to "deliver the goods" was too well known. They pleaded that, as they had not been in power with an independent majority, they were hampered, and pleaded for a better chance under majority conditions. The steadier and loyal elements were agreeable to granting that plea, but the unemployed, the houseless and the poor, who had believed in their great promises, would not respond, and, as always happens with that type of electorate in

any modern democracy, there was a violent reaction in the opposite direction, leading to the return of a large number of additional Conservatives.

The disaster to the Liberals was a natural outcome of the dangerous policy that they had pursued. The Radical element among their own supporters was offended, because, after declaring for many months their pleasure with the sensible behavior of the Labor Ministry, they had suddenly turned around on what in itself was a trumpery issue to break up that Labor Ministry. More serious was the defection of the larger element in the Liberal Party that is strongly anti-Socialist and anti-Bolshevist. They could not forgive the Labor leaders for having supported a Government that had been responsible for the Russian agreement. The loss of those two sections of opinion led to defeat all over the country. There was, however, one other well recognized factor. Whenever the Conservatives have proposed an abandonment of a free trade system Lancashire and certain other districts of the country have always declared against protection. In the election of 1923 this declaration was repeated, and a large number of Liberals returned after capturing Conservative seats. In the election of 1924 history again repeated itself in those districts by the return of the Conservatives after they had declared their abandonment of a policy of protective tariffs. A fair proportion of the Liberal losses, therefore, was due to this turnover.

THE LIBERAL REMNANT

There is a feature of great interest for the future in the composition of what remains of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. The majority

of those who were returned were Lloyd George Liberals, that is, Liberals who supported Lloyd George's policy in 1918 of a coalition with the Conservatives. Almost all the uncompromising anti-coalition, anti-Lloyd George Liberals were wiped out, including Mr. Asquith himself, who has since gone to the House of Lords as the Earl of Oxford. Lloyd George was elected by the Liberal members in the House of Commons as their leader. According to precedent, this election should automatically have made him the leader of the whole Liberal Party. The small Asquith element in the House of Commons was very bitter, and formed a radical group of its own under the ex-Liberal Minister, Walter Runciman. This anti-Lloyd George element was still in control of the party machine outside the House of Commons, and in its blind prejudice and determination to prevent Mr. Lloyd George becoming the recognized official Liberal leader they insisted upon the Earl of Oxford remaining as leader, in spite of the fact that a Liberal leader in the House of Lords had long been regarded as an impossibility. Meanwhile, at a national convention of the Liberal delegates from all over the country, Lloyd George loyally declared his readiness to carry on under the officially recognized titular leadership of Lord Oxford.

The fact that the anti-Lloyd George leaders had no line of policy that would carve out a distinctive claim for the Liberal Party as against the Conservatives on the one side and the Socialists on the other side inspired in Lloyd George and those who still thought with him the belief that they were already indicating concrete lines of appeal that might develop into a clear issue for the plain-minded electorate of Great Britain.

Jews in Eastern Europe Becoming Farmers

By ELIAS TOBENKIN

European Correspondent New York Tribune 1918-1919; Correspondent in Eastern Europe for New York Evening Post 1920; Author of "God of Might" and other novels. Mr. Tobenkin was born in Russia

THE Jews of Eastern Europe are taking their problems and their grievances to Mother Earth. Wholesale migrations from cities to the land are on foot in Soviet Russia, in Poland, in Bessarabia. After nearly two thousand years of detachment from the soil, Jews are once again undertaking agricultural pursuits on a national scale and the first Jewish peasants have recently been seated as delegates to an agricultural conclave in Moscow.

Begun inconspicuously in the Ukraine in 1921 by a few scores of families that had been dispossessed as the result of pogroms, the movement by Eastern European Jews to the soil today constitutes one of the most spectacular phases of post-war reconstruction in that part of the world. Starting as a modest attempt to solve the immediate economic problems of a few hundred individuals, the movement has become the goal and the slogan of nearly 7,000,000 people. Colonization, the settlement on land, has become the watchword not only of the 3,500,000 Jews in Soviet Russia, but also of twice as many members of the race living in the adjoining States of Poland and Rumania and in the newly created countries of the Baltic.

The movement, too, is assuming political importance. Though recent reports that the Soviet Government planned to establish a separate Jewish republic in the Crimea are unfounded, it is none the less true that the subject of Jewish colonization has been made a Government issue by the heads of the Soviet State. Formerly the Jewish drive to the soil in Russia was regulated by two specifically Jewish organizations, the Jewish Public Commit-

tee and the Jewish Society for the Spreading of Manual and Agricultural Labor; but recently control of the movement was taken over by the Soviet authorities. On Aug. 29, 1924, a commission for the Agricultural Settlement of Jews was appointed by Russia's highest governing body, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Into this commission entered three of the best-known figures among the Soviet chiefs: P. G. Smidovitch, Vice President of the Soviet Republic; Maxim Litvinov, Associate Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and Leonid Krassin, the recently appointed Ambassador to France. Representing the Jewish agricultural movement in this commission were the well-known Jewish leaders, A. Merezhin, S. Dimantstein and J. Golde.

Internationally, too, the movement has aroused considerable interest. It has the sympathy of Jews in England, France and America. Because of the preponderance of immigrants from Eastern Europe in the United States, the sympathy of the American Jews for these colonization schemes has taken a generous and practical turn. Fully \$2,000,000 in machinery, seed and cattle, backed by the services of a number of agricultural experts, has gone forth from American Jews within the past two years through the medium of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to the budding Jewish colonies in Eastern Europe. More money is being raised. Jews in America and, in fact, all over the world, are frankly hoping that the movement of the Jew to the soil may be the beginning of a solution of the so-called "Jewish Question," which, in the Russia of the old

order and in Eastern Europe generally, has been one of long standing.

75 PER CENT. OF RUSSIAN JEWS UNEMPLOYED

The agricultural achievements of the Jews in Eastern Europe, achievements upon which both the Soviet Government and the Jews look as a stepping stone in the program of remodeling the economic foundations of 7,000,000 members of the race are not unimpressive, particularly in view of the fact that the Jews in those countries had been kept from the land for centuries by edict and law. Though this colonization movement dates back only a period of three years, fully 300,000 individuals of the Hebrew faith in Eastern Europe are now living on and off the land exclusively.

Russia has the largest number of such colonists, 175,000. Most of these have their holdings in the provinces of White Russia and in the Ukraine, the area which under the Czars constituted the so-called "pale," to which Jewish inhabitants in Russia were restricted. Poland comes next with 75,000 landworkers. The smaller figure for Poland may be explained by the fact that in the Polish Republic Jews have great difficulty in obtaining land, whether by purchase or lease, while in Russia, the land having been nationalized, any one making proper representation to the Government may obtain land free. The Jewish land working population in Rumania (chiefly in Bessarabia, which, by the peace treaty, has been assigned to Rumania) is somewhere between 50,000 and 60,000.

Not forming a part of the new Jewish agricultural class of Eastern Europe and yet essentially of its flesh and bone are about 35,000 young Jews who, in the past three years, by devious routes, managed to make their way from Poland to Jerusalem. These men, known as "Halutzim," a Hebrew word corresponding to the American "pioneer," have settled on the soil there and are contributing their labors to "the establishment in Palestine of a homeland for the Jewish people," the movement fostered by the Jewish Zionists of the world.

It is in Russia that the movement of the Jew to the land find its greatest impetus. Necessity is the foremost ingredient in this impetus. Never in history has any national group had so little to part from, or to break with, as have the residents of the former Jewish "pale" when they start on their Odyssey toward the soil.

It is conservatively estimated that 75 per cent. of the 3,500,000 Jewish citizens in the Soviet empire are today minus any sort of stable occupation. The successive Governments of the Czars not only restricted the areas in "Holy



A Jewish merchant who has become a grapegrower in the Crimea

Russia," where the Jews might and might not dwell; their occupations even in these restricted areas were also limited. Jews even in the provinces of the "pale" assigned to them could not work on railroads or in the telegraph administration. They could not clerk in Government establishments or hold even minor official position. They were restricted to petty manual occupations and to commerce. They were merchants, brokers, contractors; in these occupations, too, they attained a high degree of efficiency.

With the reverse of the political and more especially the economic pendulum in Russia and with Bolshevism in a dictatorial position, these are the very callings that come most under the ban. The Soviet Government nationalized commerce shortly after Lenin and his adherents had succeeded to power in November, 1917. The private merchant was long given by the Bolsheviki the status of an offender against the Government. The introduction of the new economic policy in March, 1921, altered matters only to a small degree. Private trading in Russia until recently

remained anathema. [The ban on private traders was raised on April 3.] The Soviet Government has the same regard for its proletariat citizens of the Hebrew faith as it has for all its other citizens. In its war on middlemen, however, it made no exception. The same "steam-roller" that crushed out private trading among all other classes of population in Russia, crushed it out among the Jews. The fact that in the case of the Jews this meant that three-quarters of the entire population were deprived of their livelihood was something for which the Soviet's machinery of State made no allowance.

SOIL A "ROCK OF CONCILIATION"

In spite, however, of this seemingly irreconcilable clash of interests between the economic program of the Soviet and the needs and habits of the Jewish population, a *modus vivendi* is gradually being evolved. The soil, the movement of the Jews to the land, is the rock of conciliation between themselves and the Soviet Government. The Jews of Russia have by this time reconciled them-



Jewish farmers winnowing grain with primitive peasant implements in South Russia



Primitive well on a new Jewish farm colony in the Ukraine

selves to the fact that commerce, like the post office, the telegraph and the railroads, will, in all likelihood, remain a Government institution in Russia. The land, on the other hand, though Government owned, still affords considerable individual play. With the aid of tractors and scientific appliances it should be made to yield a living, possibly even a competence. The soil should at least afford them greater security from pogroms and pillage, if such things ever recur in Russia. Scores of thousands of former Jewish merchants, business men, contractors, men of 40 and past, are today organized in farm units. Their agents are on their way to the various localities where the Government is giving free soil to the Jews. When the agents report back with the proper papers entitling the particular unit to land, these men and their families start for what is to be their future home. The prospect of pioneering is not without a thrill even in Russia.

On the other hand, the Soviet author-

ities are endeavoring to make the lot of these new settlers on the land as tolerable as conditions will permit. Having weaned these men away from commercial pursuits in which they were adept, the Government is earnestly seeking to give them all the help it can in their new occupations in which they have had no experience. The emigrants to the land are given free transportation from their old homes to their future domiciles. There are a number of other concessions they are granted, including tax remissions and release from military service. This conciliatory attitude of the Government toward expropriated Jewish bourgeoisie now going to the land is shown most strikingly in the first official manifesto on the subject of Jewish colonization. It was adopted on July 29, 1924, by the presidium of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and was promptly acted upon by the Central Government at Moscow. The document is as follows:

The Presidium takes into consideration the

fact that until the November revolution the Jewish population had been the target of oppression by the Czarist régime; that it was not permitted to exercise its productive powers unrestrained, but was, on the contrary, compelled to limit its choice of occupations to the callings of middlemen and small traders, occupations that were of uncertain and inadequate remuneration; that it was only after the November revolution that the Jews, along with all other oppressed minorities in Czarist Russia, obtained their full emancipation and equality as citizens in the Soviet Republic, with the privilege of engaging in all fields of endeavor and in any capacity that is helpful in the upbuilding of the republic.

The Presidium further takes into consideration the fact that for the more efficient upbuilding of the Soviet Republic, the Government has decided to concentrate in the hands of the State the pursuit of both commerce and industry, regulating them through Government agencies; that in view of this development the majority of the Jewish population, which formerly was engaged in private commercial enterprises, is now seeking the opportunity to transfer its productive energies into other channels;

The Presidium recognizes that the endeavor to attract Jews to the soil is timely and practical; and makes the following individual recommendation in connection therewith.

The individual recommendations, promptly acted upon by the Government departments in Moscow to which they were addressed, were as follows:

(1) That the element of Jewish population suitable to agricultural pursuits should be attracted to such pursuits; (2) we urge the people's commissary of agriculture to assign the proper quotas of land to all those members of the Jewish population who have expressed a willingness to become farmers; (3) we recommend that the land assigned to the Jewish population preferably be located in those territories where Jewish colonies are already in existence; (4) we urge upon the commissariat for foreign nationalities that it render to the Jews emigrating to the land from their present domiciles all the practical assistance of which it is capable and that it present at the earliest possible date to the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee a list of sources to cover the expense of such aid; (5) we recommend that the work of transporting such Jewish emigrants to the land be carried on jointly by the commissariat for agriculture and the commissariat for foreign nationalities; and that both these commissariats proceed without delay to make up the lists of such prospective applicants for the soil.

The third on the list of these recommendations is most significant. By nationalizing the estates of the nobility, the Soviet Government has come into possession of a "State Land Fund" sufficient to permit colonization by at least 50,000,000 people. But the land is widely scattered over the distances of Russia. To add to the other colonization difficulties of the Jews, the problem of distance and loneliness might handicap the project from the first. The Soviet Government took due notice of this recommendation at the very next allotment of free land to Jews, which occurred on Aug. 29, 1924, or only one month after it was made by the Ukrainian Presidium. The 200,000 dessiatins of land—about half a million acres—allotted to the Jews were distributed as follows: 120,000 dessiatins in the Ukraine, 50,000 dessiatins in the Crimea and 30,000 in White Russia. In these territories the Jews have already an agricultural nucleus consisting of 175,000 persons and 1,000,000 acres under cultivation.

HALF-MILLION ACRES INADEQUATE

The figure of 500,000 acres set aside by the Government for distribution among Jewish pioneers thus far is scarcely impressive. Five million acres would more nearly meet the needs of the vast number of applicants for homesteads in Russia. The Soviet Government, however, frankly states that it will give free land only to those who not only show a willingness to go to the land, but show also that they are possessed of the means wherewith to equip themselves with the necessary tools, machinery and seed in order to make a success of the undertaking.

According to official figures compiled by the Soviet authorities, the cost of settling on the land a family of six (the average Jewish family in Russia) amounts to a minimum of 1,500 rubles, in addition to the land and transportation, which are supplied free. Such a sum, according to the Soviet experts, is the only guarantee that the new settler on the land will not starve during his

first year of learning and experimenting; and nearly every Jew who goes to the land must allow for such a period of training and experimenting. The Jewish applicants for land are thus carefully winnowed. Those not coming up to this financial standard go back home and wait for a shift in their fortunes, either through a change in Soviet policy, through an opportunity to earn the required 1,500 rubles, or until "American money" arrives to help them in their ambition to settle on the land.

That very many people are helped to the land via the American dollar is well known. The Jewish colonization movement of Soviet Russia has two exceedingly efficient committees at work in the United States today raising funds for colonization purposes. One committee, known as the "Ort" Reconstruction Fund Committee, is headed by Dr. Leon Bramson, a former member of the Russian Duma. The Ort organization represents the colonization movement not only of Russia, but of the whole of Eastern Europe. The other body, known as the Committee for Jewish Colonization in Soviet Russia, as its name implies, concerns itself with helping the Jewish colonists in the Soviet empire only.

The past mode of living of the Jews

—the fact that they were an urban rather than a rural population—enters most forcefully into the structure of their new agricultural communities. So does communism, the dictates and demands of the Soviet credo. In consideration of the urban past of these new agriculturists, their colonies rest upon what might be termed a city or industrialized basis. In response to the Communist demands of the reigning powers, Jewish farming is primarily group farming. No man in the colony can say: "These are my acres." The acres are group acres. Forty or fifty families are assigned to a piece of land. They proceed to build up a village. Separate homes are built for each family, but one common shed is built for the machinery, which belongs to the village as a whole, one common stable for the village horses and other draft animals. Though the profits at the end of the season are distributed individually, the work itself is carried on cooperatively. One beholds the amusing spectacle of former middlemen now making war on middlemen. The peasant cooperatives organized by these newcomers to the land buy and sell first hand, decreasing thereby their expenses and increasing their profits.



A Jewish cooperative farming group threshing wheat in White Russia

Who's Who in Soviet Russia

By LOUIS FISCHER

American Newspaper Correspondent at present in Russia, who served during the war with the British Army in Palestine

THE Soviet Government operates the railroads of the country and sells cigarettes on the streets of Moscow. It publishes books, magazines and newspapers. It owns homes, hotels, factories, mines, trolley lines, shipping lines, oil fields, forests, farms, wine cellars. It manufactures everything from locomotives to matches and from underwear to automobiles. These it sells in its own stores. The Government teaches the young, preaches to the adult, cures the sick, buries the dead. Above and beyond such unusual tasks, the Soviets exercise the ordinary functions of administration, policing, taxing, legislating and so forth.

A State which is at one and the same time a Government, as well as an industrialist, a banker, and a merchant, must have much power and authority, especially if it is as highly centralized as Russia. All this power and authority, following the death of Lenin, now rests with a handful of men who reside in Moscow.

These leaders, however, are not all official executives. Some of them wield power more or less behind the scenes. Before analyzing these personalities and their influence, it will be useful to the American reader to reproduce here a species of "Who's Who" of the Russian Soviet Government as it is constituted today. To be more precise, we should say the Russian Soviet Governments, for there are two; first, the Government of Soviet Russia, considered as an independent unity, and, second, the Soviet Federation of Associated States—in other words, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

On Feb. 2, 1924, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee nominated the

new Administration of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, or Soviet Russia proper. This long title is conveniently abridged by the Soviet authorities in official documents to the letters RSFSR, which letters, by a coincidence, happen to be the initials for the same words in both Russian and English. The personnel of this administration, as given by official Soviet sources, is as follows:

ADMINISTRATION OF THE R. S. F. S. R. *Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:*

M. I. KALININ—	M. I. ROGOV.
Chairman.	P. G. SMIDOVITCH.
A. S. KISELEV—Sec-	A. P. SMIRNOV.
retary.	I. V. STALIN—Sec-
A. I. DOGADOV.	etary of the Com-
A. S. ENUKIDZE.	munist Party. Sta-
P. A. ZALUTSKY.	lin's real name is
P. ISLAMOV.	Dzugashvili.
L. B. KAMENEV.	A. F. TOLOKONTSEV.
D. I. KURSKY.	M. P. TOMSKY.
S. G. MENDESHEV.	A. D. TSIURUPA.
V. M. MOLOTOV.	

Council of People's Commissars:

ALEXEI IVANOVITCH RYKOV—Chairman
P. A. BOGDANOV—Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy.
A. P. SMIRNOV—Agriculture.
M. K. VLADIMIROV—Finance.
A. M. BAKHMUTOV—Labor.
A. G. BELOBORODOV—Internal Affairs.
D. I. KURSKY—Justice.
A. V. LUNACHARSKY—Education.
N. A. SEMASHKO—Health.
V. G. YAKOVENKO—Social Welfare.
N. SHVERNIK—Workers and Peasants' Inspection.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Presidium of Central Executive Committee:



International

MICHAEL I. KALININ

President of the Russian Soviet Federation

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union Government consists, in accordance with the Constitution, of seven members of the Presidium of the Council of the Union, of seven members of the Presidium of the Council of Nationalities, and of seven members elected at the joint session of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities, the plenum of which forms the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The members elected from these three bodies (at the first session of the Central Executive Committee elected at the Second Soviet Congress) on Feb. 2, 1924, were, with omission of substitutes, as follows:

M. P. Tomskey, A. D. Tsiurupa, A. P. Smirnov, Ch. G. Rakovsky, D. I. Kursky, D. Y. Chubar, M. Miasnikian.

2. *Presidium of the Council of Nationalities:* A. A. Andreyev, Y. K. Rudzutak, M. Kuybyshev, N. A. Skrypin, M. W. Frunze, Tskhakia, M. Ignatovsky.

3. *Members Elected by the Joint Assembly:* Kalinin, M. Petrovsky, M. Narimanov, M.

Cherviakov, A. S. Enukidze, I. V. Stalin, L. B. Kamenev.

Chairmen of the Central Executive Committee of the Union: Kalinin, Petrovsky, Narimanov, Cherviakov; *Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Union:* Enukidze. [Numerically, the Central Executive Committee of the Union is composed of 514 members, of whom 414 are members of the Council of the Union and 100 of the Council of Nationalities. The number of substitutes in the Council of the Union is 220.]

Chairmen, Council of People's Commissars of the Union of S. S. R.:

A. I. RYKOV—Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

L. B. KAMENEV—Chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense.

A. D. TSIURUPA—Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Union of S. S. R.

L. B. KAMENEV, A. D. TSIURUPA, M. CHUBAR, M. ORAKHELASHVILI, Ex-officio Acting Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of S. S. R.

Commissars, Members of Council:

G. TCHITCHERIN—Foreign Affairs.

M. W. FRUNZE—Army and Navy. (Appointment announced Jan. 29, 1925, succeeding Trotsky. Formerly Assistant Commissar of War.)

L. KRASSIN—Foreign Trade.

Y. K. RUDZUTAK—Transport.

I. N. SMIRNOV—Posts and Telegraphs.

M. KUYBYSHEV—Workers and Peasants' Inspection.

V. V. SCHMIDT—Labor.

M. SHEINMAN—Internal Trade.

G. SOKOLNIKOV—Finances.

F. E. DZERZHINSKY—Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

To the lists given above may be added the so-called Politburo (Political Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party), the inner executive committee of the Communist Party and perhaps the most important political organ of the whole Soviet State. It is made up (including Trotsky, who still remains nominally upon the list), as follows:

Politburo:

G. Zinoviev (also President of the Communist International).

I. Stalin.

L. Kamenev.

L. Trotsky.

A. I. Rykov.

N. Bukharin.

M. Tomskey.

Such is the complex structure of the Soviet State, viewed from the dual angle of the original republic and of its further aspect as a federation of republics. Others not mentioned in the official lists above but discussed in this article are: M. Litvinov, Rakovsky, M. Karakhan, T. Rothstein, M. Krestinsky, A. Joffe, M. Yaroslavsky, M. Lezhava, M. Pyatakov and M. Frumkin.

From the viewpoint of controlling power, some fifteen persons working in the centre of a larger, subordinate group of some fifty others, control the lives and fates of 130,000,000 inhabitants in a country which covers one-seventh of the earth's dry surface. Their fiat is law, for the parliament which exists is their creature rather than their master.

These leaders derive their strength in the Government from their position in the Russian Communist Party. Thus Trotsky's influence in the Ship of State waned when he lost favor with the party, while Zinoviev and Stalin, who, with Kamenev, constitute the triumvirate which now rules Russia, are not in any way officially connected with the Government. But they are the leaders of the party. The Communists, however, make no secret of the subordination of their Government to their party.

With few exceptions, the men at the Russian rudder today have been prominent figures ever since the Soviet Government was first established in November, 1917, on the ruins of the Kerensky régime. They were then, and still are, very young; youth, indeed, is one of the outstanding characteristics of Soviet leaders. Incidentally, this fact explains the enthusiasm, the will, the stubbornness, the optimism which made a Bolshevik Russia in 1925 a possibility. Lenin was 47 when he seized the reins in 1917; Trotsky was only 38; Stalin was of the same age, but Kamenev and Zinoviev were both four years their juniors, while Bukharin, editor of *Pravda*, the official organ of the party, was then in his twenties.

Nor is nationality a bar to advancement. Trotsky and Kamenev are Jews,

Stalin is a Georgian, Rudzutak, Commissar of Ways of Communication (Transportation), a Lett; Dzerzhinsky, formerly head of the dreaded Cheka and now Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council (Council for National Economy), a Pole; Rakovsky, Ambassador to England, a Bulgarian, and Karakhan, Ambassador to China, an Armenian.

Until Jan. 21, 1924, the prominent political personalities of Russia were like celestial planets revolving around a sun. On that day the sun went out with Lenin's death. Nevertheless the planets continued to live and move. Yet it must be remembered that, though Lenin lies embalmed under a hermetically sealed pyramid in the Red Square, his soul, in no mere rhetorical sense, still goes marching on. If I were asked to name the men who rule Russia today I would commence with Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. Woe to the Communist who does not agree with Lenin, even to the Communist who does not pro-



Wide World Photos

FELIX E. DZERZHINSKY

President of the Supreme Council of National Economy and President of the State Political Department (the G. P. U.) of Soviet Russia

claim his infallibility, morning, noon and night. This was one of Trotsky's sins. Lenin was undoubtedly the wisest Bolshevik prophet. He understood Russia. He understood his disciples and he told them how to improve Russia and how to improve themselves. Leninism is eclipsing Marxism. Lenin was the second, some say the more gifted, Moses of socialism.

ZINOVIEV, STALIN, KAMENEV—THE TRIUMVIRATE

Many of the Soviet leaders shine by his reflected light and glory. One is at a loss, sometimes, to explain the ascendancy of a man like Grigori Zinoviev, Chairman of the Communist International and member of the Politburo. His mental powers are mediocre, his personality, far from being winning, even to his own party colleagues is often repulsive. With his high, monotonous, falsetto voice he could not be an orator even if his speeches excelled in style, incision and depth, and this is not generally the case. But Zinoviev was Lenin's

Boswell and he continues to play the rôle after Lenin's death. In exile, in hiding, in the hardest years of that period when the Communists were hounded by the Czarist secret police, Zinoviev stuck to Lenin like a faithful slave. Now he wears his devotion to Lenin on his sleeve, a course which, considering the esteem and popularity of Lenin in Russia, cannot but meet with success. Moreover, Zinoviev is a demagogue, the only demagogue among the Bolshevik leaders. At a workers' meeting he does not, as did Trotsky, seek to raise the plane of thinking of his audience to his own; he stoops to theirs. Finally, Zinoviev is a shrewd politician. As the powerful Leningrad Communist organization is entirely in his hands, besides being a member of the Political Bureau, the inner Executive Committee of the all-powerful party, with Stalin, Kamenev, Trotsky, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomskey, he is also, as stated above, the President of the Communist International, and as such has been accused by Secretary Hughes of seeking to plant the "Red flag on the White House," and by the Conservatives in England of trying to sow disaffection in the British Army. He has, indeed, become the terror, real or imagined, of all the Foreign Offices of the world, not excluding his own in Moscow. The moderate Tchitcherin quakes in the inner chambers of his soft heart whenever Zinoviev launches a fierce attack on the very statesmen with whom the Russian Foreign Minister is struggling to establish diplomatic relations. Recently, however, Zinoviev consented to preface some of his insulting vituperations on international diplomacy with the phrase: "I speak, of course, only as head of the Communist International," and on occasions he has even allowed Tchitcherin to edit the newspaper reproductions of his (Zinoviev's) addresses. But the truth of the matter is that diplomats have credited the Communist International with more activity than it can honestly boast of and Zinoviev with more folly than he would care to acknowledge.

Abler and stronger than Zinoviev is



Wide World Photos

LEO B. KAMENEV

Vice President of the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and President of the Moscow Soviet

Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party, considered by many the central figure of the triumvirate. Born Dzugashvili, trained for the ministry, five times arrested for revolutionary activity, five times exiled to Siberia and five times escaped, Stalin, naturally reticent and diffident, is the mysterious power behind the Bolshevik throne. He is a good organizer and a good debater. In rebuttal he is cruel and contemptuous, giving no quarter and recognizing no polite limits. He is typical of the whole revolution—unsentimental, steel-willed, jesuitical, allowing no object to bar his way to a given end, wholly unscrupulous. From the little he says much dynamic energy oozes. His office, where he sits most of the day and night, is a gigantic power house; from it issues the current which electrifies the entire party into unremitting activity. He is its secretary and therefore its manager-in-chief.

"Lenin trusts Stalin. Stalin trusts no one." This is the way they speak of Stalin in Russia. Whether it is true or not, it is indicative of the opinion men hold of him. His picture tells a tale. The furrows and wrinkles around his eyes speak of shrewdness and Oriental cunning. Stalin is little known abroad and not much better known at home outside the ranks of the party, but most of the mantle of Lenin fell on his shoulders.

The third leg of the dominating Red triangle is Kamenev—a short man with a dark brown, closely-clipped beard—who looks more like a German surgeon than a professional Russian revolutionary. He is a fine speaker with a well developed sixth sense for economic realities. It was he who was largely responsible for the stabilization of the ruble and the substitution of a fluctuating fiat currency, a billion units of which barely bought a dollar, by a new paper bill, the chervonets, which has remained firm for the last year and a half. What training does Kamenev possess for such high financing? To hear his lengthy economic reports, profusely illustrated with complicated



Wide World Photos

V. V. SCHMIDT
People's Commissar of Labor of the
U. S. S. R.

diagrams, one might suspect that he had taken his master's degree in statistics, that his Ph. D. thesis had dealt with the intricacies of the stock exchange, that all his life he had been connected with banks and stock exchanges. The truth is, however, that he received only two years of university education and at 18 left school to organize Socialist societies, to preach class war and to write political pamphlets. Such was his work from then on to the outbreak of the revolution. Kamenev is now Chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense (the inner economic cabinet), Vice Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (the political cabinet) and President of the pivotal Moscow Soviet. Lenin once said of him: "Kamenev is a good horse; he draws many carts and draws them all well."

Most of Kamenev's colleagues in the Soviet Government are no better equipped for the stupendous practical tasks which face them. Few of them knew the simplest principles of office man-

agement before 1917. Rudzutak, who now directs the railroads, was never more than an ordinary worker in a machine shop, while Dzerzhinsky, head of the entire industrial system, never entered a factory except to organize a strike. Trotsky, in 1917, was still lecturing radicals on the east side of New York and in Fifth Street, Philadelphia. A few months later he was chief of the Red Army, directing campaigns on wide fronts and organizing 5,000,000 armed men as if he had devoted decades to the study and practice of military science. Rakovsky, finally, was a petty physician in a small French town.

Leonid Krassin, Commissar for Foreign Trade, who alone has any wide practical training, has spoken contemptuously of the Soviet leaders as "gazettchiki," or scribblers. That they are—newspaper writers and soap-box orators. Innocent of the game of government and infants in the management of industry, commerce and finance, with no traditions to guide them, for they had definitely turned their

backs on the past, these "gazettchiki" have indeed made multitudinous mistakes. Nevertheless, they have succeeded in putting many of their industries on a profit-paying basis, in conducting trade operations with a surplus for the national exchequer, in running their railroads without a deficit, in bringing comparative order out of the inconceivable chaos which followed seven years of war, civil war, blockade, foreign intervention, pestilence and famine.

The Zinoviev-Stalin-Kamenev triumvirate, a facsimile of the French Directorate, holds power by reason of its control over the machinery of the Communist Party. These leaders inspire their followers with fear. Their henchmen honeycomb the organization to do their bidding. Their opponents are crushed by a system as efficient and ruthless as any that American politics has known. No individual—not even if he be Trotsky—can keep his official head if he show rebellion to the power of the triumvirate.

RYKOV, OFFICIAL PREMIER

Logically Trotsky should have succeeded Lenin. Actually the triumvirate succeeded Lenin. Officially Rykov is the new Premier and occupies Lenin's position in the Government. He is a sickly man and no match for the vigorous Big Three. To an extent he owes his election to the circumstance that neither Zinoviev nor Kamenev nor Stalin is of pure Russian descent, yet he is a leader of no mean ability. His analytic-synthetic speeches on Russia's economic situation are invariably models of clarity. In the grasping of a practical problem and in conceiving its solution Rykov probably has no equal in all the Soviet structure. In Rykov the soft, winning manner of the Great Russian appears at its best. He is the essence of humility and democracy.

In any alignment of Lefts and Rights within the Political Bureau, Rykov would side with the latter, together with Kamenev or with the former leader, Trotsky, now fallen from grace, or with



P. & A. Photos

GRIGÓRI S. ZINOVIEV

Stalin or perhaps with Tomsky, leader of the trade union movement of the entire country. The division between extremists and moderates, however, is not rigid, for the man who may be most prone to compromise on one question may be most uncompromising on another, and vice versa.

But young Bukharin is a chronic Left. He is a fiery orator, a caustic writer and a merry fellow. He will dishevel a comrade's hair at an international congress, tell a fresh joke, then rise to the platform to deliver a two-hour address on complicated Communist theory. Bukharin is a fine student in the best sense of that term and bids fair to develop into the outstanding Bolshevik philosopher of the generation. He is lecturer at the Moscow University, but this distinguishes him little, for many of the Russian leaders occupy similar positions. With the exception of Tomsky, who was an ordinary workman, all the members of the Politburo [Political Bureau] and such members of the Cabinet as Tchitcherin, Dzerzhinsky, and so forth, are intellectuals. They are certainly in a class apart from such persons as President Mikhail Kalinin, who was first a peasant, then a valet and then a street car conductor; or Smirnov, Commissar of Agriculture, who, after having been a shepherd in his youth, entered a monastery as a monk only to abandon it to become a master weaver.

Most of the Red leaders, in fact, are neither professional men nor business men nor farmers nor manual workers. They are free lances of the pen, the tongue and the spirit. The most intellectual among all these leaders, the most cultured and impractical, is Anatol Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education. One sees him rather as a dilettante litterateur wearing a velvet blouse and flowing tie in a Paris salon than in the councils of the hardened Bolsheviks. Even today he writes Greek tragedies and probably prefers it to running his department. A letter reveals the man. It was in the exciting first fortnight of November, 1917, when the Bolsheviks had just succeeded in establishing them-



Wide World Photos

MIKHAIL FRUNZE

People's Commissar of the Army and Navy of the U. S. S. R. greeting some of his troops

selves in Petrograd. But in Moscow they were still meeting stiff opposition from Czarist officers. Bitter street fighting was in progress. "On Nov. 15 [the quotation is from John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World"] Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, broke into tears at the session of the Council of People's Commissars and rushed from the room, crying: 'I cannot stand it. I cannot bear the monstrous destruction of beauty and tradition!'" That afternoon his letter of resignation was published in the newspapers. It read as follows:

I have just been informed by people arriving from Moscow of what has happened there. The Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed, the Cathedral of the Assumption, are being bombarded. The Kremlin, where are now gathered the most important art treasures of Petrograd and of Moscow, is under artillery fire. There are thousands of victims.

The fearful struggle there has reached a

pitch of bestial ferocity? What is left? What more can happen?

I cannot bear this. My cup is full. I am unable to endure these horrors. It is impossible to work under the pressure of thoughts which drive me mad.

Several days later Lunacharsky learned that his informants had exaggerated and withdrew his resignation. He has been Commissar of Education ever since.

TCHITCHERIN—FOREIGN MINISTER

George Tchitcherin became Commissar for Foreign Affairs when Trotsky's slogan at Brest-Litovsk: "We shall not fight, but we refuse to sign the peace," failed to prevent the Imperial German Army from invading Russian territory. Tchitcherin is a peculiar person. In the early years of the revolution he never changed his suit; now he takes a delight in donning Oriental costume which would excite the suspicion of the Freudian. He speaks a better English than most of the Americans and Britishers who come to see him and his mastery of other European languages is perfect. He has lived much abroad (in an English prison during the war) and worked in the Czarist Foreign Office. Though it is true that some of his best notes were drafted by Lenin, Tchitcherin is no doubt the ablest diplomat in the Old World. He is a scholar, and his knowledge of foreign affairs is boundless. Certainly if he had attended the Versailles Peace Conference he would have known where Teschen is located. Lloyd George did not.

Tchitcherin is ably assisted by Maxim Litvinoff, who looks like a Jewish cloak manufacturer who owns a factory on West Twenty-second Street, New York, and spends the Summer at Belmar; Adolph Joffe, a soft, charming person, who negotiated most of Soviet Russia's early treaties with foreign countries; Theodor Rothstein, the first Bolshevik Ambassador to Persia, once on the staff of The London Daily News but now persona non grata to the British Government; Mikhail Karakhan, astute, a lover of pomp, with a lawyer's mind and a lawyer's training, who at 15 was assistant editor of a revolutionary jour-

nal in the Far East; Rakovsky in London, Krestinsky in Berlin and others. But Tchitcherin is psychologically unable to delegate tasks to inferiors. Instead, he is the hardest worker among the hard-working Communist leaders and his nineteen-hour day has become as proverbial as Edison's four-hour night.

As the new Ambassador to France, Leonid Krassin really joins Tchitcherin's growing staff of diplomats, but he retains his former post as Commissar for Foreign Trade, one of the most pivotal in the Cabinet. Krassin looks the banker and is, indeed, so moderate that not even his quarter-century record as devoted and active Communist hindered his more radical comrades from anathematizing him as a reactionary Menshevik. That was more than a year ago, when Krassin advocated a more conciliatory policy toward foreign Governments and foreign capitalists. Today he is back in the good graces of the party because the party sees the wisdom of his recommendations more clearly than it did in 1923. It was Krassin who negotiated the first Anglo-Soviet trade agreement with Lloyd George, and it was Krassin whom the Bolsheviks intended sending to America some time ago when it seemed faintly possible that the United States would recognize Moscow. He has a good business mind and good business training in the largest electrical works in Germany. He is an engineer.

FELIX DZERZHINSKY

The centre of the Russian economic system and one of the most important members of the Cabinet is Felix Dzerzhinsky, who has taken to constructive work after having for years headed the Cheka, the supreme Communist organ of destruction. As chief of the Cheka Dzerzhinsky signed the death warrants of thousands, and it is not unnatural, therefore, that abroad he should have acquired the reputation of a blood-thirsty monster reveling in the agonies of his victims. But in truth he is a silent ascetic to whom the sanguine activity of the Cheka was abhorrent. It

is said that when in prison years ago in Poland he volunteered to remove the refuse from the prisoners' cells because some one had to do the "dirty work," and why should it not be he? So also the business of expediting the enemies of the revolution out of existence was the dirtiest part of the Bolshevik job and Dzerzhinsky accordingly took it upon himself. Now, however, his great organization abilities are being put to better use and under his direction first the railroads and then the thoroughly dilapidated industries of the Soviet Republic have assumed some semblance of efficiency.

A Cabinet member in Russia may have very little influence on Government policy. He performs his task, big or little, along the general lines laid down by the Communist Party, to which he must adhere but in which his voice may carry far less weight than that of a comrade who holds no State office. Thus Semashko, Commissar for Health; Lezhava, Commissar for Internal Trade; Schmidt, Commissar of Labor; Tchitcherin, Lunacharsky and others in the Cabinet are really no more than executives, whereas Rykov and Kamenev, as members of the Politburo, and Sokolnikov, Rudzutak and Dzerzhinsky as "candidates" or substitute members of the Politburo, are not alone executive members of the Cabinet; they make its policy.

By a prank of the Soviet Constitution which must certainly seem odd to Americans, the President of the Republic is not a member of the Cabinet. Mikhail Kalinin, who has served as President since 1919, was elected, it is safe to say, to be a handshaker, a figurehead and a lodestone for the peasants, with whom he is popular. But the peasant problem is assuming increasing importance and Kalinin's prestige in agricultural Russia is growing by leaps and bounds. His office near the Kremlin is the Mecca of thousands of people who ride or walk from all parts of the vast union to lay their complaints and reveal their woes to the President, who they know is one of their own. His peasant following is the

source of his strength and the party leaders are forced to reckon with it. Last April he was elected a "candidate" to the Politburo, and observers venture to predict that he will become a full-fledged member as soon as the first vacancy occurs.

KALININ LOVED BY PEASANTS

Kalinin is a simple man. He has been seen attired in a cloth blouse, unpressed trousers and flat cap, walking the streets of Moscow chewing sunflower seeds and spitting the shells into his palm—a peasant hobby. And he is a moderate man. Every year he commutes hundreds of death sentences. He is largely responsible for the mellowing of the anti-religious campaign among the peasants. He is also a shrewd man. His is the shrewdness of the native Slav sharpened by contact with the brilliant minds of the Bolshevik intellectuals. He is a natural speaker. We in Russia know now that when Kalinin speaks it is the voice of 100,000,000 Russian peasants that is speaking and that Bolshevism will give ear.

Special mention must here be made of Frunze, whose election as Commissar of the Army and Navy in succession to his former chief, Trotsky, was announced on Jan. 29, 1925. Instigated by the triumvirate which appointed him First Assistant Minister of the War Department without Trotsky's approval, he was a thorn in his chief's side, even going so far as to attack him in the press. Now he occupies his chief's position, one of the most important in Soviet Russia.

Other leaders may here be mentioned by way of conclusion. Yaroslavsky, Secretary of the party's Central Control Committee, which watches over the discipline and morals of Communists and expels them if they are wayward, exercises great authority. Pyatakov, Chairman of the Chief Concessions Committee and Dzerzhinsky's right-hand man, is destined to become a figure of much importance, unless his leanings toward the fallen Trotsky militate against him. Enukidze, a fair and

handsome Georgian, is Secretary of the Union Central Executive Committee, the nearest thing to a parliament which exists under the Soviets. Frumkin is an able financier, who in Krassin's absence will direct the work of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

Note should be made of the women leaders, though—or, perhaps, because—they are few and unimportant. The Russian revolutionary movement was known for its active women workers. Not so the revolutionary Government. I may mention Mme. Kollontai, now Ambassador to Norway, the only woman Ambassador in the world. She is an extremist in politics as well as in morals; Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who works in the Department of Education and enjoys much influence in the party. As Lenin was, she is the personification of unselfishness. Here the list really ends. Kamenev's wife was active in combating the famine of 1921, but has now taken to patronizing artists and the arts. Trotsky's wife heads several charity organizations. Kalinin's wife, a simple peasant woman, would have come to America to collect money

for famine orphans had the State Department granted her a visa.

We have touched upon the leaders who have already won their golden spurs. Scores of others are rapidly forging to the top, for the revolution destroyed the old, thereby creating a vacuum into which rushed men and women from classes which had theretofore been submerged below the ruling stratum of Czarist aristocracy, nobility and land proprietors. The revolution offered innumerable possibilities to persons with ability and high positions to those who could rise to their tasks. In that first year of Bolshevism, when Lenin and Trotsky had few friends and many enemies, the first man available was thrust into a breach. Often he made good; yet in normal times the chance would never have been offered him. To this extent times are still not normal, for things are still in flux and there is a dearth of capable persons to lead and manage, so that the revolution continues to act as a fire, molding men for greatness in the crucible which is Soviet Russia.



Ewing Galloway

The waterfront of Leningrad (formerly known as St. Petersburg and later as Petrograd)

New Ideas and Ideals in Soviet Russia

By AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

Director of Slavonic Department, New York Public Library. Mr. Yarmolinsky spent the Fall and Winter of 1923-24 in Russia

UNDER the surface calm of Soviet Russia, a vehement and ruthless conflict is in progress. To watch it is to become of necessity a partisan spectator of an immense drama, replete with tragedy, brightened at times by episodes of involuntary comedy. At this present juncture, when seven lean years have drawn to a close, the situation may be summed up in fairly simple terms. The Soviet Union is run by a small, opinionated, energetic group of people who conduct a dictatorship in the name of the workers and peasants. The policies of the State are those of the Communists, who form a lay sect, rather than a party, in the Western sense of the word, as they tolerate no dissenting group. Politically, the Socialist State is, within human limits, omnipotent. Economically speaking, it occupies what its spokesmen, with their fondness for military phraseology, like to call "the commanding heights." It controls the land, which is nationalized, the key industries, transportation, banking, foreign commerce, and all natural resources.

In the early years of the revolution, when military Communism was in order, the prerogatives of the State were even larger. Theoretically, at least, it was at once the employer of the whole urban population and the middleman between city and country. It requisitioned the products of the peasant's labor above a certain minimum and rationed them among the townsmen. In exchange, it offered the peasantry the scanty manufactures that were turned out. This system, tolerable in military emergency, broke down utterly when the

country staggered out of the civil strife that followed the exhausting years of the war. The factories stood still, the cities starved, the cultivated acreage dwindled and riots were becoming as epidemic as typhus. Faced with this crisis, Lenin's Government executed a strategic retreat. The smaller industrial plants which had been taken over by the State—70 per cent. of the total—were returned to their owners. Private trading was legitimized. The wage system was reinstated. Instead of being told how little produce he could retain for himself, the peasant was informed as to the amount of his taxes.

This new economic policy, "Nep" for short, had two important consequences. On the one hand, it helped the partial recovery of industry and agriculture. On the other, it created a new bourgeoisie. The men who entered the door of private enterprise which Lenin had opened won the title of "nepmen," a term which is supplanting the earlier, imported opprobrium of "boorzhoo" (bourgeois) as the term "Leninism" is now supplanting "Marxism." This new mercantile class of nepmen is partly recruited from the remnants of the old bourgeoisie, partly from the poorer classes. Only the shrewdest and the most adaptable have pushed their way into this group. Its members have all

Avrahm Yarmolinsky was born in Russia and came to the United States in 1913. He received his doctorate at Columbia University in 1921. He is the author and translator of "The Memoirs of Count Witte" (Doubleday, Page, 1921); "Modern Russian Poetry" (Harcourt, Brace, 1921) and the companion volume, "Contemporary German Poetry" (Harcourt, Brace, 1923), and has also rendered into English several novels and tales by Russian authors.

the vices of their predecessors and few of their virtues. Their position is somewhat analogous to that of the Jews in medieval Christendom; they are beyond the pale, they have no vote, they are heavily taxed and their disappearance is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

In whatever light the new bourgeoisie is regarded, the fact remains that Russia has the poor always with it, and the rich also. The "Have-nots" press their noses against the bakery windowpanes while the "Haves" are inside buying French pastries. And yet, the "Haves" wear their sabres with a difference. They have no sense of security. A decree gave them what they have, and a decree may take it away.

From the Communist point of view, the nepman represents the principle of private gain at public expense—the revolting economics of every man for himself. He is the embodiment of everything that they aim to destroy. They stand aghast as they watch the exploits of the private entrepreneur, who seems to be slipping from their control. The field of his operations is restricted: he is allowed to make no investments whatsoever abroad, and none in the key industries at home; but he has five-sixths of the retail trade. He is able to compete successfully with the State distributing agencies because he has less overhead expense, because he has the incentive of profit and because he has superior business training. The Soviet Government is built upon the political and more particularly the economic union between the city worker and the peasantry, and the Communists are naturally alarmed when they see an interloper in the person of the nepman. The Government has no illusions about its own ability at this juncture to sell directly to the consumer the cottonprint or the nails that it manufactures. It lacks experienced, efficient men, whose sympathies are with Communist experiment and who, above all, will keep the eighth commandment. Speaking recently to the citizens of the German labor commune on the Volga (an autonomous

republic formed by the descendants of the German colonists of the day of Empress Catherine), Premier Rykov pointed out that the State could not run a general store in every village. Should the State's shopkeeper commit a theft only once a month, the total loss would be appalling. On the other hand, the State could not stand the expense of watching him.

It is essential, therefore, that the peasants should form consumers' cooperatives, unless they want to fatten the purses of the middlemen. Of late the Communists have been leaning more heavily upon the cooperatives, in the hope of using them as an effective weapon against the merchant enemy. During the last few months a concentrated effort has been made to improve the service rendered by the cooperatives, but they are still bureaucratic, inefficient and expensive to the consumer. Lenin declared long ago: "If the moment comes when the peasant says, 'Your socialistic, communistic production doesn't suit me; it costs too much; I can't pay for the cotton, I can't buy the kerosene which is produced in the plants belonging to the State,' that will be the most ominous indication that we are building our socialism very badly." More recently Trotsky sounded the same warning, when he said plainly that if the State distributing agencies failed to compete successfully with the private trader serious political trouble would occur.

SOVIET'S BATTLE FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

The conflict which the Soviet State is waging cannot, of course, be reduced to this single issue. St. George's struggle with the dragon is complicated by the fact that he is not quite sure of his sword arm. The simple fact is that while it was one affair to rule a military camp, such as Russia was before 1921, it is quite another matter to coordinate, under the conditions of a free market, vast and heterogeneous economic forces so as to secure a prescribed result. The Communists have to deal with a nationalized industry,

with a distributing system run mainly along capitalistic lines and, what looms largest, with 18,000,000 farms worked by peasants who show a strong individualistic bias. How far they are from mastering these elements may be seen by any one who runs through the current records of Russian affairs. In the Fall of 1924 the price of grain was so low that the peasant could not afford to buy the State's manufactures, thus precipitating a sales crisis. This year, the price of grain having almost doubled, there are not enough manufactures to meet the demand of the domestic market. Yet none knows better than the Government its own deficiencies, and no one is more eager to learn how to mend them. The needs, the moods and the performance of the peas-

ant are uppermost in the minds of the Communist. Political questions have been almost entirely obliterated by the overweening interest in such matters as the price of boots, the wages of miners, the construction of the Volkhovstroï powerhouse, the grain export. The Government has recently been conducting a campaign for scientific management. Time study, shop organization, the Taylor system of efficiency management are slogans that make these Russians, who approach whatever smacks of science with the gusto of the self-taught man, eagerly prepare to conquer new worlds.

The battle is not simply a matter of effecting economic reconstruction with communism as its end. The Russian leaders have used enough ammunition



P. & A. Photos

Vote being taken by show of hands in a Russian village during the recent Soviet elections

on the old institutions. They have now come to realize that they must strike at the habits of thinking and feeling which shaped and had in turn been shaped by these institutions. Their task is one with which every liberal sympathizes, namely, that of educating people to work together for the good of the commonwealth, without thought of personal aggrandizement. What the liberal would deprecate is that the Bolsheviks treat the individual, as such, cavalierly, and, further, that they are engaged in making fighters of every man, woman and child. They believe that the historic task of this generation and probably of its successor is to wage ruthless war in behalf of the new social order and that education must equip one for

the field. There is a logical tendency toward a regimentation which is reminiscent of Spartan ideals; a training for citizenship which is only to be paralleled in ancient Greece. I have seen two small babies baptized, so to speak, into the community, which was represented by the textile factory in which their mothers worked. Part of the ceremony was the presentation to the infants of Young Pioneer uniforms by boys and girls from that organization, which is the Communist Scout movement. I have heard the parent of a Young Pioneer express the fond hope that his daughter would graduate into the ranks of the Comsomol (Communist Union of Youth), to become in time, as a matter of course, a good party member. The theory is that this rigid recruitment is a necessary step toward the condition of freedom.

This emphasis on the disciplined, combative spirit may largely account for one feature of the Russian "complex" which strikes so forcibly every observer. I refer to the Communist Party's implacable hostility to all forms of organized religion. The Russian Orthodox Church was too patent an ally of the autocracy not to feel profoundly the shock of its collapse. The revolutionary Government separated Church from State and let matters rest there. The party, however, instituted a crusade against religion. The real object of its attack is the doctrine of meekness, patience and obedience which makes such good wage-slaves and such bad rebels. It is an article of Communist faith that all the various historic forms of religion are as one in offering eternal bliss in an inconceivable paradise. They resent the notion of supernatural interference with what they consider a rational and scientific way of life. And so, if you buy apples in a Moscow street, the vendor will probably slip them into a paper bag made out of the pages of old church Slavonic books; if you see the name of God in print, it is sure to be set with a lower-case "g"; if other theatres are filled, you can get a seat in Moscow's Atheist Theatre, there to

watch a pageant representing the crimes of priesthood through the ages; at all the kiosks you can find the *Bezbozhnik* (the Atheist) published by the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party. This paper, with its gorgeously colored and irreverent lithographs, aims at Deity in every guise. On Christmas or Easter, one may chance on a group of young people staging a parody on a church procession. This sort of thing, however, is disappearing, the propagandists finding a lecture on the laws of physics or the Darwinian theory a more effective weapon. Even the *Bezbozhnik*, having exhausted its first exuberance, is offering what amounts to an illustrated talk on hygiene, and pictures with a triumphant gesture the conversion of a church into a hospital for surgical cases. The Communist Party has to change its tactics on the "anti-religious front," lest it batter at an open door. Within the church an attempt is being made to meet the new spirit by a revision of its ritual along lines which parallel the Protestant Reformation. The reformers who head this new movement, which has resulted in the foundation of a new ecclesiastical organization, known as the "Living Church," have discarded the more vulnerable features of the cult, such as the worship of icons and holy relics. This new church, furthermore, professes loyalty to the existing régime, while heartily welcoming separation from the State.

It is undeniable that the younger generation is receptive to the materialistic outlook; even in the villages the professing unbeliever cuts a figure. But a large proportion of the population, especially in the country districts, clings to the familiar beliefs and rites. In this land where the children are taught to lisp in atheistic numbers, no less than two Christmases were celebrated last year, inasmuch as some congregations retained the Orthodox (Julian) calendar and others adopted the Gregorian calendar, which is followed by the rest of the world and which was introduced into Russia by the Bolsheviks. On Christmas Eve (Old Style) the churches

were filled to overflowing. Even on Christmas (New Style) and in Communist households, I saw tinsel trees, decorated, I was told, in one case for "a pet squirrel," and in the other for "a favorite nephew." So the ancestral habit of ages is rationalized in new Russia.

In the Fall of 1924 the south of Russia was swept by a religious epidemic. Some gullible rustics were convinced that the end of the world would shortly come on the right side of the River Dnieper, and paid a gold ruble a head to the saint who promised to divide the waters for them with the help of a bull's vein and lead them to salvation on the left bank. Others made a pilgrimage to a crucifix near a railway station in Podol, to see the bleeding arm of the Christ which had been struck by a Bolshevik bullet. A monastery sprang up in Kiev overnight, and here and there old cupolas miraculously renewed themselves. A teacher from a small town told me that his expert opinion had been invited to decide whether an old icon which suddenly looked like new owed its renovation to the direct intervention of the Lord or to a wet rag. Within ten miles of Leningrad, on a July Friday dedicated to the female saint named after that day, thousands assembled to witness the exorcism of women possessed by evil spirits. An eminent Russian ethnographer, describing the scene to me, confessed that he himself had been literally swept off his feet by the mood of the multitude, had gone down on his knees and cried out with the rest.

OLD CEREMONIES FOR NEW IDEAS

In attacking the strongholds of belief and ritual, the Communists are sustained by that faith in the malleability of human nature which they share with some philosophers and all revolutionists. Instructed by practical experience in the wisdom of William James and John Dewey, the Russian leaders are seeking to re-educate natural dispositions by offering men substitutes for and equivalents of their customs and habits. The Communists realize that the Church

gives dignity to certain significant occasions in the life of man—to birth, to marriage, to death. It relates the individual to something larger than himself and satisfies his need for the dramatic expression of that relation. The Russian leaders aim, then, to offer the same satisfactions in observances and in a pageantry which reflect their own outlook. These new ceremonies are singularly lacking in graciousness and originality. A Communist father, a factory worker, after overcoming the opposition of his conforming wife, is likely to have his child "Octobered" (the Bolshevik revolution took place in October, Old Style). The platform is occupied by a *præsidium*, of which the parents are honorary members, seated about a red-covered table, and speeches are made by representatives of the party and of the factory, accepting the child into the community. A boy is likely to be named for Lenin or Liebknecht, a girl for Clara Zetkin. The child may be quietly baptized later. At a funeral there will be speeches and music, the speakers and the band being supplied by the trade union to which the deceased belonged. Weddings are likely to be enlivened by amateur theatricals given by the dramatic section of the local workers' club. Indeed, the theatre and the cinema are counted upon to do the work of the Church in more ways than one. The stage is the Communist's pulpit, and such texts as "the Communist front must be maintained" are perpetually flashed from the screen. Trotzky, for one, believes that the strongest weapon against the Church is to be found in the "movies."

Nor do the Communists lack an equivalent of the religious sanction of morality. Scornful as they are of bourgeois ethics, they have come to accept a golden rule of their own. Here again they go to Lenin's scriptures and find the formula that what helps to destroy the exploitation of man by man is the "moral criterion." He who follows this rule is likely to be a sober, industrious, decent sort of man, such as any moralist would approve.

WAR ON LIQUOR AND CAMPAIGN FOR DECENCY

During my five months' stay in Russia, I can recall having seen only two instances of drunkenness. The problem of the manufacture of samogón (home brew), nevertheless, is a serious one. It is calculated (statistics being the great national game) that in 1922 the manufacture of samogón cost the country 232,000,000 poods of rye. It is greatly to the credit of the Soviet Government that, in spite of its financial difficulties, it never succumbed to the temptation of repealing the prohibition of vodka instituted as a war measure by the old régime. It will be recalled that the autocracy practically lived on the proceeds of the vodka monopoly. The Communist Party is conducting a vigorous campaign against drinking, with Trotzky (before his departure to the Caucasus) in the rôle of "Pussyfoot" Johnson. Only light wines and beer are permitted.

Mildness in language is also advocated. The "swear words" of other languages, be it noted, are weak compared with those that exist in Russian. The Red soldiers certainly did not advance into battle singing psalms, although they always march through the streets with a song; but, like Cromwell's men, they are enjoined from profanity. In this respect, as in some others, the Bolsheviks follow in the steps of Peter the Great, who was the first to try to rinse clean the Russian mouth. Rinsing and scouring is now the order of the day, as the hygiene posters and the propaganda for physical culture attest. "Physkultura" is a shibboleth, and football is practically the official game. Already the history of athletics from the Marxian standpoint has been outlined, and a Red Athletic International is projected to supplant the Olympic Games, which are anathematized as "bourgeois."

The Communists' denial of the bourgeois and all his works is commonly thought to imply the destruction of the family. Indeed, they regard the home, in the sense of washtub, stove and nursing bottle, as an anachronism. Steps are being taken for the establishment of community nurseries, laundries and kitchens. But these are few and far from satisfactory. Even the warmest advocates of the new family recognize that in a country which is so poor and whose inhabitants are so ill-tutored in civic responsibility, the ordinary household must, at least temporarily, be accepted.

While some members of the party are talking rather irresponsibly about freedom in the sex relation, others, puritanically inclined, are expelling from their midst those who put these theories into practice. The immediate task, as the Communist Party contends, is to promote the common decencies of family intercourse. The establishment of civil marriage has probably affected the family very little, but the simplification of divorce has given the peasant woman a weapon against the husband who frequently used her as a beast of burden. There is a definite will to strengthen the family, but never at the expense of the Communist Party. Communism, like any system of uncompromising beliefs, enters the family circle prepared to set son against father, mother against daughter, so that a man's foes are those of his own household. And so these social rebels enthroned in power today in Soviet Russia hope that the battle for the new order will be fought not merely along the wide "economic front" and against the citadels of the Church and the walls of custom, but finally in every urban flat and every peasant izba (hut) throughout the nation.

Prohibition Crisis in Finland

By JOHANNES ÖHQUIST

Attache of the Finnish Embassy in Berlin, Germany

ON June 1, 1919, an anti-alcoholic law came into effect in Finland. This law permitted the manufacture, sale, storage and importation of alcoholic beverages only for medicinal, technical and scientific purposes. The manufacture and importation of alcoholic beverages was declared to be a State monopoly, which may temporarily, either in whole or in part, be transferred to a limited company, but which has hitherto remained exclusively vested in the State. All practical measures concerned with the execution, maintenance and control of the alcohol law are referred to the Minister of Social Welfare.

This rigorous law, which made Finland completely "dry," has, because of its drastic nature, given rise to effects which the makers of the law themselves did not at all anticipate, at least not in the measure in which these effects appeared. In wide circles of the population the law was felt to be an unjust usurpation of personal liberty, and the opposition which the law called forth assumed a form which led to the antithesis of what the law had aimed to achieve. Instead of furthering abstinence it produced, at least in certain elements of the population, an intensified consumption of alcohol. Even those circles which believed in the combating of drunkenness and in a reasonable, practicable, feasible limitation of the use of alcohol, were of the opinion that the law of 1919, because of its radicalism, defeated its own object, and the various opponents of the law seized the opportunity to make the law appear absurd by propagating an exaggerated theory of freedom in the use of alcoholic

beverages. Psychologically, they chose their time well. Total prohibition drove even such people as had used alcohol in moderation to transgress the law out of a feeling of defiance. It is deplorable that even the cultured and wealthy classes of Finland react in this way to the law and seek to prove that it is impossible to execute it, though this reaction is explainable. Their attitude, however, has contributed to the result that the smuggling or "bootlegging" of alcohol into Finland has grown into a profitable business. The effect of this smuggling from the point of view of national finance has become even more momentous than if the use of brandy had been completely free. The fishing population of the labyrinth of skerries on the coast has almost completely given up its original vocation and is now intent only on enriching itself by the smuggling of Esthonian and German brandy. Meanwhile among the peasant population inland drunkenness is making formidable progress. The law is helpless to remedy this situation. To abolish the law would mean capitulation to the alcoholic interests. A reasonable modification of the law, on the other hand, is hindered by its opponents, who have adopted the exaggerated view of reckless freedom of use already referred to.

The situation thus stands clearly defined, with the two opposing factions facing one another. Meanwhile the Government seeks through more and more drastic measures to pursue the course it has adopted and to establish at every cost the principle laid down. The Government took a step in this direction by the invitation which it transmitted to

the other Baltic States to send representatives to a conference on this problem, which was common to all. The conference took place as scheduled on Dec. 24, 1924. Delegates from the following States were present: Germany, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Danzig, the Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The material interests of the States represented were very different and their viewpoint respecting the alcohol problem absolutely opposed. Some are wine exporters, others wine importers; in some the manufacture of alcohol is made subject to no restrictions, in others (such as Sweden) it is strictly controlled; in Finland, as indicated, it is wholly forbidden. All the nations listed, however, are in agreement on one point, viz, that the smuggling of alcoholic liquors, independently of the above-mentioned differences, must be combated. The difficulties with which the conference had to struggle centred mainly around the best means available to carry on this anti-smuggling campaign without imposing hindrances and burdens on legitimate import and export and without injecting elements of disharmony into the already existing legislation of the lands involved.

With these objects in view, the delegates of the nations represented at the conference drafted an international agreement devised to hinder the smug-

gling of alcoholic liquors. This draft, which was to be submitted by the delegates to their respective Governments, was based on the proposals previously worked out for the conference in Finland and distributed among the delegations before the conference opened. Inasmuch as the conference in its final protocol expressed the wish not to give out the terms of the agreement before it was ratified by the respective Governments, only its salient features can here be indicated. These are as follows: (1) Small ships are forbidden to transport alcoholic liquors from one country to another; (2) restrictions are imposed on ships of larger tonnage; (3) the zone, within which smuggling ships are allowed to anchor, is to be considerably removed, and so forth.

The unity expressed by this protocol regarding a problem of such importance for many of the countries represented should be hailed as a gratifying indication of the spirit of cooperation observable among all the Baltic States today and will undoubtedly contribute to the increase and strengthening of the good relations already established between them. If the proposed measures are ratified, as is hoped and expected by all, the prohibition crisis in Finland will be overcome and the whole situation with respect to illegitimate traffic in alcoholic liquors will be greatly relieved.



Franco-British Rivalries in Tropical Africa

By CLINTON STODDARD BURR

Author of "America's Race Heritage" and other works on Political and Ethical Subjects

OUR so-called isolation makes Americans prone to disregard what at first appear to be the more remote political problems of the world. This, of course, may be explained in part by the paucity of news emanating from distant parts. In the case of the Latin-controlled Congo region and that hotbed of international intrigue the so-called independent negroid empire of Ethiopia, the absence of continuous supply of "up-to-date" information is obviously due to the backwardness of the native populations and the failure of the holding nations to develop the vast resources of those countries. The very passivity of the natives (if we except certain minor uprisings that recently took place in the Portuguese territory), which at first seems to contrast favorably with the evident unrest in British India, British Africa, Dutch Malaysia, the Middle East or the extra-Western colonies about the China Sea, is due to the policy of curtailing facilities for education. Yet the calm may be entirely deceptive, merely the prelude to the storm.

Why have the potentially rich colonial possessions of the Congo region never been developed to any degree and why are the natives still in a servile condition? One answer is, of course, that, like all the nations of Europe, the Latin colonizing powers sadly lack the capital and high-grade administrators necessary for the adequate development of their holdings in the tropics. But the work of the French organizers in North Africa partially belies such a statement in so far as administrators are concerned; and France seems able and willing to raise money for the maintenance of the largest standing army in

Europe today and for the commercial and strategic development of Berbery and the Sahara, not to mention the homeland. The suggestion that the natives have not the capacity for development is disproved by the fact that the comparatively progressive negroes of British West and East Africa are racially identical with the natives of the Latin-ruled territories.

On the other hand, both Portugal and Belgium are becoming increasingly aware of the burden on the exchequer which these adventures in Congoland represent to small and impoverished nations unable to develop them. If Portuguese Africa and the Belgian Congo could be sold, the minor colonial powers would willingly rid themselves of a burden, if not a latent menace, in order to pay off their war debts and improve conditions in the homelands. But Great Britain, which alone has guaranteed in the past the tenure of the minor European States in the Congo, is not anxious to add to the troubles she already has in her own dependencies, although it has been proposed that the Union of South Africa should acquire at least part of Portuguese Mozambique. Since the war, too, it has been suggested that the United States enlarge the interest it already displays in Liberia by taking over parts of Africa as a future home for our American negroes. At one time the idea had Great Britain's approval, but our former missteps in acquiring the Philippines and Porto Rico acted as a strong reason for avoiding such entanglements. Hence Belgium and Portugal continue to hold their colonies with little gain or with actual loss.

The lack of apparent interest on the

part of the Latin colonizing powers, both large and small, in the economic development of their West African possessions is very intimately associated with that Anglo-French rivalry that has cropped out all over the world during several hundred years of expansion. Just before the middle of the sixteenth century England and France both began their efforts to open tropical Africa to commerce. From the beginning the French concentrated their activity upon the region of Senegambia, one of

the most valuable strategic parts of Central Africa. Gradually settlements and forts were distributed along the Senegal River above the sea lagoon at St. Louis. Stimulated by the advances of both Great Britain and Germany in the tropics, France shrewdly used her coastal establishments as bases to penetrate the hinterlands and surround the British district on the Gambia River, thereby making impossible the latter's development. The first dreams of a great West African empire took form



Map of Africa showing how the continent has been divided between European nations. The part of Morocco opposite Gibraltar is Spanish territory

in the French mind. Various negro and negroid tribes were gradually reduced to impotence as the French advanced toward the Upper Niger regions. In 1890 the French moved eastward to Bornu, making treaties with the native princes. Side campaigns were made into the Ivory Coast region and Dahomey, the latter becoming a starting point for various expeditions into what was to become French Sudan. By 1890 the French advance threatened to conflict with the British and it was necessary to make an agreement that a line from Say on the Niger to the north-west corner of Lake Chad should be the boundary line between the spheres of influence of the two great powers.

FRENCH IN THE SUDAN

Having consolidated her empire of the Sudan, the French, whether to separate the British possessions of East and West Africa or merely to unite the French possessions into a compact whole, initiated the more comprehensive policy of extending their territory in the Congo to their possessions in the Sudan. In 1899, after several unsuccessful efforts, the French succeeded in overthrowing the King of the negro kingdom of Bornu and thus consolidated all their continental African possessions, except the Somali Coast, in one large, compact territory. Not content with this, however, the French now made a great effort to advance eastward to the Nile. Taking advantage of British operations against the natives of the Nilotic Sudan, a French column under Colonel Marchand penetrated to Fashoda, an Anglo-Egyptian station on the White Nile several hundred miles south of Khartum, with the very obvious intention of establishing a key position from which to threaten the British line of communications north and south and ultimately penetrate up the Nile or to the Red Sea. But Great Britain meanwhile had not been asleep and was determined to consolidate her own already important holdings in Africa. After the Khalifa's defeat at Omdurman by Kitchener, which established British prestige in the

Eastern Sudan, the French, when challenged, were finally compelled to evacuate the comparatively weak position (because of lack of communications) at Fashoda.

From that time onward Great Britain took the leading position in the colonization of Tropical Africa. Today British West and East Africa boast twice the population of French Equatorial and West Africa, and within the British possessions are to be found the finest and in some respects most productive regions of the continent. Despite her setback at Fashoda France was not discouraged in the determination to thwart British expansion in Africa at every turn. She has maintained her undeveloped territories south of the Sahara as virtual windows from which she may watch the activities of the British in the neighboring domains. That France attaches an incomprehensible importance to maintaining her corridor in Equatorial Africa is apparent from the fact that the French acquired the major portion of the former German Kamerun contiguous to the Congo after the World War by making concessions elsewhere. Nor is it to be doubted that, if Great Britain eventually seeks to absorb Belgian and Portuguese Congo, the French will assert their right to an equal share in the cession. Portugal, however, is well aware of her dependence on British power and for that reason maintains her rather unnatural alliance with Great Britain, which guarantees the Portuguese African possessions in return for the cooperation of Portuguese troops in any war in which England is not the offender, as was the case in the World War.

While the partition of the Congo regions was being accomplished, a similar effort was being made in the Horn of Africa to encircle and finally absorb the ancient empire of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, as it is now known in the League of Nations. This would have been an easy matter (for the country has never been welded into true political union) had it not been for the fact that nature seems to have laid it out

for defensive purposes. It is a country of mountain and gorge, almost impassable for any but a large and well-equipped army. Yet from an imperialistic standpoint the attempt would be worth the effort, for the nation that controls Ethiopia directs the source of the Nile and could threaten Egypt from an impregnable position. As a matter of fact, in 1868 a British force did fight its way with great difficulty into the interior to the mountain fortress of Magdala, where the Negus Theodore had taken flight after he had imprisoned British and French Consuls and missionaries. The Negus committed suicide, but the British, at that time probably unaware of the strategic value of this mountainous country, did not press their advantage and allowed the provincial chiefs to fight for the throne.

As the partition of Africa continued, the attention of the Italians was turned to Abyssinia, as a highland region suitable for colonization. Italy did obtain enclaves in Eritrea and Somaliland, which she retains to this day, but after

some indifferent successes the Italian invading army suffered an inglorious defeat at Adowa in 1896 and the dream of a great Italian empire in Africa passed away. Nevertheless, Italy has apparently not relinquished her designs in the Horn of Africa, as is seen from the fact that she diplomatically forced the cession of Jubaland from the British very recently.

POSITION IN ETHIOPIA

France, meanwhile, has been too preoccupied with her Western African possessions to do more than establish an outpost on the Somali Coast. But her influence has increased in Ethiopia by reason of economic and commercial penetration. Today the posts and telegraphs of the Ethiopian Empire are under French management and a railway 500 miles long has been built under French auspices. Thus we find the three powers occupying their respective enclaves that shut Abyssinia from the sea, each awaiting the favorable opportunity to assert its hegemony in



A village in the Congo, on the way to Stanleyville

this ancient Christian nation. On the other hand, the recent visit of Ras Tafari, the Regent and heir apparent of Ethiopia, to the three capitals, London, Paris and Rome, indicates an intention to play the three powers against one another in true diplomatic style.

Great Britain, sure of her ability to repulse any foreign attack in Central Africa, focuses her attention upon the continued education of the negro, foreseeing the ultimate formation of another great autonomous empire not unlike that of India within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Black men are sent to British universities, are being taught to operate railroads and shops, and are even being appointed to civil service. France, on the contrary, seeks to remedy the situation by exploitation of both the natives and the land for the sole benefit of the French homeland. Forgetting the Haiti precedent in regard to the arming of blacks who are ignorant, the French are now raising a native army in West Africa as an aid to their imperialistic policy. Many of the natives object to being mercenaries in the French armies and numbers of them seek refuge in the British territories, thus causing disquietude to the French authorities. In general, however, West Africa is today perhaps the best breeding ground for unresisting and stolid "cannon-fodder." Here the spirit of race and nationalism has not yet penetrated. Being deprived of education, except in the arts of war, the natives of the Latin-ruled territories of Equatorial Africa have not risen far above the level of primitive savagery. For example, the French are still compelled to take stern measures to blot out cannibalism.

It is these backward negroes who are being taught to regard themselves as black "Frenchmen,"* "Belgians" and "Portuguese" rather than Africans. When black soldiers are garrisoned in French towns they are received, at least by the poorer classes, with open arms

by men and women alike. Among the Latins there is surprisingly little (although somewhat increasing) opposition to mixed marriages between blacks and whites, so that miscegenation continues more or less unchecked. However, economic as well as biological considerations have led the French Government to study this problem of black infiltration into a white man's land, with the result that eventually black troops will be garrisoned outside France proper, except in cases of emergency. The Latins, and particularly the French, are nevertheless fostering the spirit of imperialism at the expense of a wholesome race consciousness—a policy which is in marked contrast to that followed in dependencies of the Anglo-Saxon nations. In seeking to absorb the negroes through miscegenation or by eliminating their racial soul, which will prove vain in the years to come, the Latins are actually denying them their birthright of ultimate race nationalism. Belgium and Portugal differ from France in their African policy, since theirs is not essentially a militant imperialism. They realize their weakness in the detached African colonies and the utter futility of raising even the semblance of a threat against Great Britain in tropical Africa. It is true that in the Belgian Congo, as well as in Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, some of the natives are being drilled in the general technique of war, but this is done primarily to form a police force able to quell uprisings such as recently took place in Angola. For the time being Great Britain apparently is content to have two weak States as neighbors of her Central African domain.

FRENCH TREATMENT OF NEGROES

At the same time, progress in French West Africa continues to be very slow. What little activity does take place is exploitation pure and simple for the direct benefit of the mother country. Even the French effort to connect North Africa with the Sudan by rail or tractor lines through the Sahara is conceived solely for the purpose of facilitating

*Meanwhile "The League of the Rights of Man," a French organization of 100,000 members, petitions the French Government to submit its appeal to the League of Nations for the withdrawal of the United States Marines from Haiti.

troop movements to France, to utilize the resources of French Central Africa without equable reimbursement of the natives and to improve communications between France and the Latin countries of South America. C. W. Bovill, writing on "The Future of the Western Sudan" (Contemporary Review, London, August, 1924), points out that the Sahara is being allowed to encroach gradually southward, drying up lakes, wells and water holes in Sokoto, Bornu and other districts of the French corridor between Nigeria and British East Africa, with the result that the natives are becoming restless and in many cases retreating into British territory. In Senegal, also, partly as a result of primitive methods of tilling the impoverished soil, the negro population is moving southward. Tribal wars among still barbarous natives in the remoter districts are likewise largely reducing the populations of the Latin-owned colonies, many natives being killed and others migrating to British territory. It cannot be said, as Mr. Bovill points out, that the British particularly welcome the introduction of the semi-nomadic negroes from French territory, with their untow-

ard influence on the placid Hausa farmers of Nigeria. "As long as the French occupy the restless border zone which lies between Nigeria and the Sahara," he adds, "they are required to guarantee the integrity of our [the British] frontier. A time may come when the Dahomey and Cameroon railways have been extended sufficiently far into the interior for the French to dispense with this expensive corridor between the Niger and Lake Tchad." A railroad has actually been built recently across the French corridor connecting the two great British-owned regions.

The race consciousness of the negro is already very noticeable in British Africa as well as in other parts of the world; and, however great the efforts to prevent it, it is bound to spread and grow in the more backward regions of Latin-owned West Africa. Some day there may be a new and modern prototype of the ancient Songhai Empire, largest and most powerful State that ever existed on the Dark Continent, which ruled over all the lower Niger, Timbuctoo, Lake Tchad and to the Atlantic.



The Island of Mugarura, Lake Kiwu

Berlin-to-Bagdad Dream —Today's Reality

By GEORGE A. SCHREINER

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THE peace treaty of Lausanne, of date July 24, 1923, wrote the epitaph of an enterprise which for many years kept Europe and Southwest Asia in a state of nervous excitement and did much to give European diplomacy the sordid and truculent aspect it had. On the question of the Bagdad railroad much wire-pulling and controversy were carried on in foreign offices and diplomatic posts. A bad nightmare seemed to reach its end on Feb. 3, 1914, when a new agreement between Great Britain and Turkey gave the Bagdad Railroad Company the right to build the section of the line between Bagdad and Basra, a distance of 366 miles. But that was not the end of it. The "Bagdad-Bahn" [Railroad] contributed largely to giving the political situation in Europe and near-Asia the desperate character it had. Six months later the European War broke out.

The governments and financiers of Europe looked on the Near East, as Southwest Asia is internationally referred to today, as the territory in which they could practice "peaceful penetration" at the expense of all, including those who planned to buy there, as well as those who also wanted to sell there, not forgetting those natives who had raw material for sale, mostly raw silk, wool, hides, leather, tobacco and foods.

In the course of time Turkey had been divided up into "spheres of interest" and, finally, in 1907, Persia was formally divided into a British and a Russian "zone of influence," under conditions that left the Peacock Kingdom but scant remnants of sovereignty.

Germany had been left out of consideration when Persia was divided.

Russia received North Persia and Teheran; Great Britain took over South Persia and the head of the Persian Gulf; France was the banker for all in Persia; and Germany decided to secure her position in Turkey, taking the quite logical view that he who controlled transportation could control trade. The prize was worth trying for, even if a billion gold marks had to be invested, for that much the Bagdad railroad and projected feeder lines would cost before earnings would amount to much.

The territory that was to be opened up—Mesopotamia, Syria and stretches of Anatolia proper—is the equal in area and population, and almost in climate and soil, of the State of Texas. The two territories are dissimilar only in Texas being now far ahead of the Bagdad terrain in actual development, while the latter seems to have more potentialities. Mesopotamia especially has a promising future. The irrigable area is great, the climate most generous and diverse; and there is ample reason for believing that the southern slopes of the Taurus mountain range and the several plateaus contain more oil than has yet been found. These are no recent discoveries. The promoters of the Bagdad railroad were fully informed as to what could be done in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, and being so informed thought nothing of building a new main line 1,430 miles long to gain their objective. The Bagdad line project proved that even in the Germany that was they could now and then think in magnificent dimensions.

Those who have written of the "Berlin to Bagdad" scheme recently would seem to have exaggerated the signifi-

cance of the German project considerably. The States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana do have together as large an area as Syria and Mesopotamia; but there the similarity ends. No single track of railroad and a few feeders could convert so large a territory into the veritable El Dorado we have seen pictured; nor could German efficiency make much more of the archaic native population than what it is, largely too frugal, stolid and fatalistic to be of much consequence in modern empire building; too free and easy withal to accept German dictation, and too indolent to look with interest upon Western scrambling for wealth.

The system usually referred to as "the Bagdad railroad" was one of slow growth rather than a single sensational undertaking. Its first stretch, from Haider Pasha, opposite Constantinople, to Ismid, was completed in 1873. It achieved no great success, having to compete with water transportation on the Sea of Marmora and the Gulf of Ismid, this mode of transport being characteristic in a land in which speed

meant nothing. The enterprise did poorly enough for twelve years and was then taken over by the Anatolian Railroad Company, a German group in the main, which received its financial support from the Deutsche Bank. In 1890 the line was extended to Arifleh and Ada-Bazar; in 1892 it reached Angora, and in 1896, Konia.

In October, 1898, Emperor William II made a trip to Constantinople and Jerusalem, on which occasion he was heralded by the unfriendly press of Europe as the imperial commis-voyageur (traveling salesman). Until that time the "Bagdad-Bahn" had enjoyed but little notoriety in foreign offices and editorial sanctums. Now it was different. At Damascus the Emperor made a strong Islamophile speech, and a year later, in December, 1899, Turkey and Germany agreed that a railroad to Bagdad should be built, in addition to the Hedjaz line to Mecca, Arabia.

During the next two years the British and Turkish Governments were in sharp conflict on account of this; the former objected to having the proposed line run as far as Koweit, on the Gulf of



Map showing the route of the Bagdad Railway. Inset is a smaller map showing the complete route from Berlin

Persia, while Turkey held that it had the right to give such a concession. In January, 1902, Turkey compromised by limiting the Bagdad railroad concession to the Germans to Bagdad, the Bagdad-Basra-Koweit line remaining unstaked, as it were. But the Bagdad controversy continued in the press. By March, 1903, the tempest had subsided somewhat. The concession of the Bagdad Railroad Company was extended to Basra, 366 miles south of Bagdad. But it took ten years to finally dispose of this bone of contention.

Meanwhile the Hedjaz, companion enterprise of the Bagdad line, had been laid in part, with the connection from Ryak to Damascus in narrow gauge, to guard against invasion by the French railroad system in Syria. Traffic was opened in September of 1904, and in 1908 the "Pilgrim" line was ready for business as far as Medina.

HOW THE LINE GREW

The building of the Hedjaz line under Meister Pasha was quite a feat and served admirably to increase German prestige in Turkey and Islam generally. Together with the extension of the Bagdad line from Konia, on the Anatolian high plateau, to Bulgurlu, 126 miles in length, as first leg of the Bagdad railroad proper, the Hedjaz line soon became the cause of much diplomatic irritation. In 1904 the Konia-Bulgurlu section was ready for operation. Until 1911 Bulgurlu was the southernmost terminus of the line, due to the fact that engineering difficulties in the Taurus mountain range, which the railroad enters at that point, as well as international politics of an unfavorable character, made rapid progress a hazardous undertaking. Emperor William, meanwhile, took other matters in hand. In May of 1909 the German military mission under Baron von der Goltz Pasha went to Turkey for the purpose of reorganizing the Ottoman army.

Turkish concessions were not always permanent, owing sometimes to outside interference and often to the perspicacious use of bakshish by the obstruction-

ist. In March, 1911, it became necessary to make a new agreement between the Turkish Government and the Bagdad Railroad Company. By means of this the building of the entire line was considered by both the Turkish and the German Governments to be finally assured.

The slogan "Berlin to Bagdad" began to be used in real earnest by the pan-Germans and other zealots, a movement that was undoubtedly encouraged by the German Government giving permission to Liman von Sanders Pasha, in the Fall of 1913, to head the German military mission to Turkey and to take command of the Stamboul army corps. So great was the agitation, and war seemed so imminent between Turkey and Great Britain, that Sanders Pasha laid down his command in January, 1914. Feeling was assuaged by Turkey and Great Britain settling the Basra matter.

In February, 1914, Great Britain yielded the Bagdad-Basra line to the Germans, thus making the British position at Koweit and Basra both more definite and more secure. Britain was now assured of complete control of the head of the Persian Gulf. France, meanwhile, by using pressure on Turkey, had extended her sphere of interest in the Ottoman Empire, as laid down in the Convention of April 9, 1914. Great Britain, like Russia, had made up her mind to stay in Persia a long time. Every one seemed pleased with the status the Near East had been given. The assassination at Serajevo marred that picture also.

In 1917, when the Germans ceased all work on the railroad system, the several stretches of the trunk line were in an uncompleted condition.

The total length of the Bagdad trunk line is 3,036 kilometers, or 1,897.5 miles.

To this must be added the Eskishehir-Angora line, running 263 kilometers; the Ismid-Ada Bazar-Boly line, running 135 kilometers, building 60 kilometers; the Karabasdan Tchiftlik-Alexandrette line, running 60 kilometers; and the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana line, running 67 kilometers, and the branch lines Harran-

CONDITION OF THE BAGDAD RAIL- ROAD WHEN WORK CEASED IN 1917

(In kilometers)

	Trains Running	Roadbed and Stations Ready	Roadbed Build- ing
Haider Pasha to Eski- shehir	315		
Eskishehir to Konia...435			
Konia to Bosanti....283			
Bosanti to Dorak.....	47		
Dorak to Mamureh...139			
Mamureh to Islahiah..	61		
Islahiah to Rodju.....		39	
Rodju to Aleppo.....	98		
Aleppo to Djerablus...106			
Djerablus to Harran..	105		
Harran to Ras-ul-Ain..		102	
Ras-ul-Ain to Helif...		84	
Helif to Bagdad.....		637	
Bagdad to Samarra...	122		
Samarra to Basra.....		463	
	1376	335	1325

Urfa, Helif-Mardin, Angora-Kaisarieh. Half a dozen others need not be considered here, since they were merely projects and in many cases not even surveyed. During the military operations in Mesopotamia a short stretch of the railroad north of Bagdad, as far as Sadijeh, was in operation.

OVER 2,000 LINES OF TRACK

The total mileage of the Bagdad system as operating and nearing completion was therefore 3,621 kilometers, or 2,263 miles, equal almost to airline distance between New York and San Francisco. On the line Haider Pasha-Ismid, passenger trains ran in both directions twice daily, at a speed of about twenty miles an hour, while there was only one passenger train each day to and from Eskishehir, to and from Konia, and to and from Bosanti, these stations being the end of the day's run. At night all traffic stopped, including freight.

The construction of the line was of the best and the rolling stock good. Anatolia, however, is the land of no hurry. For a time the company ran express trains between Constantinople and Smyrna, via Afiun-Karahissar, but

the effort was not appreciated, with the result that the 34-hour schedule was abandoned and traveling restored to three days. There was little freight business except when crops were moved.

The actual investment made in the system in 1915 was 350,000,000 gold marks for the Anatolian lines as far as Konia; and 290,000,000 gold marks for the line from Konia to Aleppo. What amount had been actually spent on roadbed, bridges and plant generally on the Aleppo-Bagdad section has been the subject of much controversy. It was estimated that this part of the system would cost about 400,000,000 gold marks, a little less than one-half of which sum may have been spent by 1917, when all work on the line ceased. Including rolling stock, it is fair to assume that the Bagdad railroad system represented in 1917 an investment of 1,100,000,000 gold marks. With the exception of very small amounts raised elsewhere, the money was advanced by the Deutsche Bank. Most of the construction work was done by the firm of Ph. Helzmann & Co. of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany.

The men principally responsible for the promotion of the Bagdad project in recent years were Arthur von Gwinner, Edward B. von Speyer, Wolfgang Kapp, Karl von Siemens and Karl Helfferich. Under the auspices of the same group of financiers was formed the Konia Irrigation Company, whose plan it was to irrigate the plains of Konia and Karaman with the waters of Beyshehir Lake. Work on the project had progressed excellently when the European war broke out, but the undertaking came too late as a means to supply Germany and her allies with grain and other foods during the war, though desperate efforts in that direction were made.

The Bagdad Railroad is in many respects one of the most difficult undertakings of its kind. In the building of the line from Haider Pasha to Konia engineering problems had been encountered only between Biledjik and In Onue, where the line ascends the Ana-

tolian high-plateau, rising over difficult ground, from 385 feet above sea level to 2,508 feet in twenty-four miles of track, or about half that distance in airline. The new roadbed, south of Eregli and Bulgurlu, offered even greater obstacles. At Eregli the line is 3,162 feet above sea level; at a point twenty-four miles from Tchajan it lies at an elevation of 4,401 feet. Thence the road descends, in a compass of thirty-three miles, to 2,340 feet at Bosanti, and for the next seven miles of track on the east slope of the Hadshin Dag, in the southernmost ridge of the Taurus, the line consists entirely of artificial ramps, cuts and seventy tunnels, three of which are 10,500, 8,100 and 5,100 feet long respectively. As the line enters the Cilician plain, a little beyond Dorak, it is only eighty feet above sea level, having descended from 4,401 feet in sixty-three miles, an average grade of seventy-one feet to the mile.

Another series of difficulties had to be overcome in the Amanus range. The Arslan Bogas Pass is negotiated by means of nine shorter tunnels, one tunnel more than three miles in length, ten viaducts and many ramps. From there on to Bagdad the line presented no engineering problems, and the same is true of the section Bagdad-Basra.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN STRUGGLE VS. GERMAN MONOPOLY

The Bagdad Railroad question entered into its first critical stage on Nov. 5, 1909, when Izvolsky, then Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at London the following letter:

We learn on good authority that new discussions have taken place between Turkey and Germany with respect to the Bagdad Railway. The British Minister, Churchill, who met Mahmud Pasha at the German manoeuvres, informed him that an English group intended to apply for a concession from the Sublime Porte for the building of a railway from Bagdad to Koweit, but without any kind of guarantees. * * * The Sublime Porte intends informing the British Government that the German Bagdad Company had already been granted such a concession, but that Turkey is

willing to find a means to insure to England participation in the construction of the Persian Gulf-Bagdad Railway under the same conditions as Germany, or even France, enjoys; and to concede to these three powers control over this line.

In Germany readiness has been expressed to influence the Bagdad Railway Company in this sense, but only on condition that the agreements regarding the Bulgurlu-Halif branch line and the obligations resulting therefrom are strictly adhered to. Apparently, the Turkish Government raised no objections.¹

On Nov. 19, 1909, the British Embassy at St. Petersburg informed the Russian Government as follows:

The Russian Government is aware that Sir G. Lowther² some weeks ago applied to the Sublime Porte for a concession for a railway to connect the Persian Gulf with Bagdad by the Valley of the Tigris. At the same time a preferential option was requested to connect the Mediterranean with Bagdad by an extension of the above line along the Euphrates.

The Russian Government will likewise be aware that the English Government has agreed, under certain conditions, to a 4 per cent. increase of the Turkish Customs duties, with the reservation that no kilometer guarantee be paid out of the returns of this increase and that a written assurance to this effect be demanded from Germany by the Turkish Government. It is, however, improbable that such an assurance can be given, for the Bagdad Railway Company is aware that no kilometer guarantee can be paid unless the Powers give their consent to the increase and unless at least a part of these returns be used for the kilometer guarantee.

A few days ago Herr Gwinner³ informed Mr. Babington Smith that he was now prepared to accept the following conditions: (1) British control over the sector Bagdad-Persian Gulf; (2) This sector to be built with English material and by English contractors; (3) Non-British interests to participate only in an unimportant degree in this sector; (4) The railway north of Bagdad to be in no way dependent on the British group.

Sir Edward Grey has informed Count Metternich⁴ that the British Government could not give its consent to the increase of the Turkish Customs duties without an arrangement being arrived at relevant to the Bagdad

¹Entente Diplomacy and The World; de Siebert and Schreiner; p. 501.

²British Ambassador to Turkey.

³Director of the Deutsche Bank, in charge of Bagdad Railroad finances and promotion.

⁴German Ambassador to Great Britain.

Railway. He pointed out that the necessity of inviting Russia and France to participate renders it difficult for the British Government to take part in the building of the railway. Grey has, however, just learned that the German Government would possibly renounce in favor of England the right to continue the railway south of Bagdad. England in this case could come to an understanding with Turkey regarding the Bagdad-Persian Gulf Railway. This is exceedingly important for the British interests in Mesopotamia and is one of the points on which the British Government has always insisted. The other Powers, including Russia, apparently incline toward consenting unconditionally to the increase of the Turkish Customs duties; the British Government will probably follow suit if Germany yields on the point just referred to.

A German line to the north of Bagdad interests the British Government much less than a railway in a different direction from Bagdad toward the West.

A decision must be arrived at on this question, as it is a matter concerning the increase of Turkish import duties. The British Government alone cannot oppose the increase in the tariff, and once this is conceded there will be no more obstacles in the way of the construction by Germany of the Bagdad Railway.⁵

Thereupon Izvolsky informed Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador at London, as follows:

Strictly confidential.

The British Ambassador has handed me a memorandum from which I learn that no agreement is under way between England and Germany with respect to the Bagdad Railway, which will cause us to turn renewed attention to this question. Germany will transfer to England all her rights regarding the Bagdad-Persian Gulf line on condition that England give up the line north of Bagdad.

The British Government is apparently ready to accept the German proposal and to consent to the Turkish Customs tariff increase as well; in so doing, England gives her sanction to the kilometer guarantee being taken from the revenues arising from the Customs increase.

It is not clearly discernible from the British memorandum whether England is now attempting to evade her former promise that all four Powers negotiate together.⁶

At all events, we must remember that this question can take quite a new turn in case of the Anglo-German negotiations materializing, and this would cause us to exercise extraordinary precautions where the Bagdad Railway, the kilometer guarantee and the Customs increase are concerned.

I intend to submit this question to a Ministerial Council, and you would oblige me by letting me have your suggestions and views.⁷

On Nov. 24, 1909, Sir Arthur Nicolson, British Ambassador to Russia, sent to Izvolsky the following letter:

After our conversation last Friday I submitted to my Government several of your observations, which you yourself designated as being first impressions and not your definite conclusions.

I have now received further statements from Sir Edward Grey, which I trust will dispel all ambiguities. Above all, I wish to emphasize that no arrangements have been concluded with the German Government and no negotiations taken place as yet. My Government did not give Germany a free hand; she possessed such already by virtue of the concessions. Germany hopes to raise the necessary financial means through a tariff increase, and all the Powers, with the exception of England, were apparently willing to consent to this increase without setting up any condition regarding the Bagdad Railway. My Government had to consider what conditions should be formulated for the protection of British interests. Nothing further has been told the German Ambassador than what I communicated in my Memorandum of Nov. (6), 19. * * *

We have always demanded the control and construction of the line south of Bagdad and cannot content ourselves with less. No doubt can exist that the railway will be built eventually, whether England and Russia take a part or not, and from this point of view England must give serious consideration to the present situation and the Gwinner proposals. But before anything further be done in the matter Grey would like to have Russia's opinion. There is one reason which makes the question of the southern sector of the railway a most urgent one; the Turkish Government is starting irrigation work south of Bagdad, and it is probable that the rivers will cease to be navigable owing to lack of water. The river transport of Anglo-Indian commerce, which has been in British hands for more than fifty years, would thus be ut-

⁵Entente Diplomacy; p. 502.

⁶Russia, Great Britain, France and Germany.

⁷Entente Diplomacy; p. 503.

terly lost, without any possibility of a substitute until the railway is built.⁸

On Nov. 26, 1909, Izvolsky addressed to M. de Giers, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, a long communication on the subject, reading, in part:

The significance of the Bagdad Railway from a political, strategical and economic point of view, so far as Russia is concerned, has already been exhaustively investigated. Our standpoint remains unaltered. The construction of this railway will have injurious consequences for us and we must take measures to mitigate these results. It will hardly be possible to prevent the execution of the German project, first, because Germany's expenditure for this enterprise has already been a very large one; secondly, because, on the whole, French financial circles regard the undertaking favorably, and, thirdly, because England now seems inclined to give her consent upon certain conditions. Thus, it is now principally a matter of determining on what conditions we could declare our readiness to cease opposing the German undertaking. It must be remarked, however, that Germany now apparently renounces the execution of her original project in its entirety, and, like England, we, too, shall now have to determine the limits of Germany's freedom of action in order to protect our interests in Turkey and in Persia.

As for the kilometer guarantee, it will hardly be possible to build the railway without such a guarantee. Nor will it be possible to use another source of revenue of the Turkish Government for this purpose. Thus the necessity arises of applying the 4 per cent. Customs increase for this purpose. The opposition of the Powers on this point has, however, placed insurmountable difficulties in the way of the German enterprise.⁹

It should be explained here that the Bagdad Railroad Company wanted the kilometer guarantee for the purpose of securing minimum returns of 4 per cent. to the investment of about 1,000,000,000 gold marks which the enterprise would call for. Virtually all the railroads in Turkey were built and operated on that basis. The amounts paid out by the Turkish public debt administration in the years 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1914 were: £Turkish 528,918; £T. 420,141; £T. 341,388 and £T. 238,043, of which

the share of the German company was about 36 1-2 per cent.

On Dec. 8, 1909, the controversy was in the stage indicated by a communication from the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople to Izvolsky, in which he says, in part, giving M. Bompard, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, as his authority:

The French Ambassador is of the opinion that England is more and more concentrating all her energies on the domination of the roads leading to India—the Persian Gulf and the Indian Plains—and England appears to be less and less interested in Constantinople and the Turkish problems proper. The London Cabinet has safeguarded itself by its conventions with Russia¹⁰ against an extension of Russian influence in the Persian Gulf. The projected treaty with Germany completes England's sovereignty in the Persian Gulf. England will then attempt to free herself in Egypt from the obligations to obtain Turkey's sanction in certain political and financial matters, and once this end is attained England will no longer take an active part in the other questions. But this cannot be desirable for France. Although several Frenchmen are taking part in the Bagdad Railway project, yet this enterprise is an exclusively German one and France possesses neither a vote nor any rights at all. The number of shares in French possession is an insufficient one.

* * *¹¹

GERMAN PLANS ANTAGONIZE BRITISH

The Bagdad Railroad question again disturbed Europe's foreign affairs when Germany proposed to build a feeder line from Bagdad to Khanekin. In making that proposal the Germans antagonized the British, who had grown somewhat used to seeing the railhead of the Bagdad main line end in ports controlled by them. On Dec. 15, 1910, Count Benckendorff in a letter to Sazonov, successor to Izvolsky, stated that Sir Edward Grey had pointed out to him (Benckendorff) that

* * * even if the fear of an invasion of India by Russia has now vanished, yet too close a connection of the Bagdad Railway with the Indian railways through Persia creates no inconsiderable difficulties. A

⁸Entente Diplomacy; p. 504.

⁹Ibid.; p. 508.

¹⁰The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, by which Persia was divided into a British and a Russian "zone of influence."

¹¹Entente Diplomacy; p. 510.

strategical main line beginning in Turkey would thus exist; the circumstance must be taken into consideration nowadays when Islam appears to be awakening everywhere. * * *¹²

On Jan. 17, 1911, Benckendorff quoted Grey as follows:

Sir Edward then summarized his statement and asked me to draw your attention to three points:

The importance to Germany of having received assurances from us concerning the linking-up of the railways in Persia. Then, he deems it extremely important that, should we connect Khanekin with a point in Northern Persia, whatever Germany's participation may be, the control and management of this branch line in our Persian sphere of interest should remain solely in Russian hands, to the exclusion of every kind of German interference.

Sir Edward gave a reason for this. He said we must not forget the pan-Islam movement; Persia is Mohammedan, as is Afghanistan, and since both Russia and England possess numerous Mohammedan subjects, a Turkish army commanded by German officers, controlling a railway in Persia which is under German influence, would be a permanent danger, the importance of which must not be underrated. * * *¹³

Meanwhile, it had been proposed also to connect the Bagdad-Khanekin feeder line with Teheran, capital of Persia. There was a Russo-German understanding to that effect, providing that the control of the line and a 60 per cent. share of the capital to be invested was to go to Russia. Russia, who had no money for such enterprises, proceeded to use her paper status as a means to delay an understanding on the subject between the powers principally interested: Great Britain, France and Germany. To make it more interesting still for the British statesmen, the Russians began to talk seriously about extending their Caucasian railroads to the Indian frontier.

On Jan. 27, 1911, Benckendorff reported to Sazonov as follows:

The King replied that this circumstance was of the greatest importance; true, it was a matter of a railroad in the Russian

sphere of influence, but, this question is fraught with extraordinary strategic importance for England, and above all, he said, it was a question of the control of the railway to Teheran or to another place in North Persia. Russia's control is a guarantee for England—Germany's control a danger. * * *¹⁴

On Feb. 10, 1911, Sazonov remarked to Benckendorff: "The nervousness of the English is surprising."¹⁵ On Feb. 18 Benckendorff informed Sazonov:

I saw Grey this morning. English capital will participate neither in the line Teheran-Khanekin nor in the Teheran-North Persia line, without the guarantee of the Russian Government. A guarantee of the British Government is out of the question; Parliament would refuse its consent. Moreover, Grey's telegram to Buchanan leaves no doubt in that respect.¹⁶

The diplomatic seesawing finally resulted in the astute Russian Government asking British capitalists to find the money with which railroads were to be built under Russian control in North Persia—lines that would undoubtedly aggravate the situation on the Russo-Indian frontier. There was no guarantee the Russian Government could give the equally shrewd English investors in these circumstances, and thus one of the troublesome and ludicrous situations conjured up by the German-Bagdad railroad controversy was disposed of.

On Sept. 7, 1911, after the famous Potsdam meeting, Neratov, Acting Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, informed Benckendorff as follows:

For your personal information, I add that we have obtained Germany's promise not to construct any branch lines of the Bagdad Railway in the territory included between it and the Russian and Persian boundary north of Khanekin, nor to lend any support to any enterprises of that sort, with the exception of those branch lines which we already know of and for which a concession has already been granted, viz.: Mossul-Erbil, Kiala-Tuskurmatly and Halif-Mardin-Diarbekir-Kharput. This promise was given me verbally by the German Ambassador and has been submitted to the Emperor in the shape of a report, the wording of which was edited

¹²Ibid.; p. 527.

¹³Ibid.; p. 527.

¹⁴Ibid.; p. 541.

¹⁵Ibid.; p. 551.

¹⁶Ibid.; p. 555.

by me in conjunction with Count Pourtalès.
* * *¹⁷

For another two years the Bagdad Railroad question was discussed and quarreled over, and finally the whole subject, about which so much bad blood had been created, was settled in the manner indicated in the telegram of May 21, 1913, from Benckendorff to Sazonov:

Grey requested Cambon¹⁸ and me to call on him and has informed us that he desires to speak to us on the subject of the Bagdad Railway; firstly, because England is tied by the Russian and French consent to the 4 per cent. Customs increase, and, secondly, because this question must be discussed by the Paris Commission. Grey told us the British Government no longer believes it possible further to oppose, in principle, the Bagdad Railway, yet it must safeguard its own interests in the construction of the line to the Persian Gulf. Hence the British Government is on the point of coming to an understanding with Turkey, which would regulate certain questions in the Persian Gulf, as, for instance, Koweit, the island of Bahkrin and shipping, whilst, on the other hand, Turkey is given the possibility of building the railway from Bagdad to Basra, on condition that it shall not go beyond Basra, in any case not without England's sanction, and that two of the directors of the railway must be English, without England otherwise participating in the enterprise, since all attempts to internationalize this railway line have been without avail. The above directors would have no other task than to represent British interests in tariff questions.¹⁹ These two conditions are of a preventive nature, England thus securing only a negative right. Under these conditions, England would be ready, in case of Russia and France giving their agreement, to give her consent to the 4 per cent. Customs increase. Grey asked Cambon and me to submit this to our Governments. * * *²⁰

The way to completing the Bagdad system was about to be cleared of all obstacles. Negotiations then begun ended in the Anglo-Turkish Bagdad Convention of Feb. 3, 1914.

FORCING OUT THE GERMANS

The World War intervened, bringing

Germany's collapse and defeat. On June 28, 1919, representatives of the German Government signed at Versailles the treaty that blotted out whatever concessions and investments Germany had in territories beyond her own shrunken borders. Due to the fact that Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his followers could not be induced to attend the sessions at Paris and Versailles, details as to German holdings in Turkey proper and in what had been the Ottoman Empire could not be gone into until three years later at the Lausanne Conference, whose agreements, signed on July 24, 1923, supersede those of the Treaty of Sèvres, Aug. 10, 1920. Among these we find, as part of Article 25:

Turkey engages herself to recognize in full the Treaties of Peace and additional Conventions concluded between the other contracting Powers (*to this treaty*)²¹ and the Powers that fought on the side of Turkey, and is to accept the dispositions which have been taken concerning the territories of the former German Empire, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and to recognize the new States within the frontiers thus fixed.²²

Article 56 provides that the counsel of administration of the Ottoman public debt shall no longer include delegates of German, Austrian and Hungarian investors.²³

Article 62 provides:

Turkey recognizes the transfer of all credits which Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary possessed against her, conforming to Article 261 of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles on June 28, 1919, with Germany; and to the corresponding articles in the Treaties of Peace of Sept. 10, 1919, with Austria; of Nov. 27, 1919, with Bulgaria; and of June 4, 1920, with Hungary. * * * Such credits as Turkey may hold against Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary are likewise transferred to the said contracting Powers.²⁴

Article 72 provides:

In the territories remaining Turkish by virtue of the present treaty the properties, rights and interests belonging to Germany,

²¹Italics by the author.

²²Recueil des Actes de la Conférence (Conférence de Lausanne, sur les affaires du Proche-Orient, 1922-1923), deuxième série, tome II, p. 12.

²³Ibid.; p. 25.

²⁴Ibid.; p. 25.

¹⁷Entente Diplomacy; p. 576.

¹⁸French Ambassador to Great Britain.

¹⁹Freight and passenger rates.

²⁰Entente Diplomacy; p. 663.

Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria or their nationals (ressortissants), which would have been subject to seizure or sequestration by the Allied Governments prior to the coming into force of the present treaty, shall remain in the possession of the latter until the conclusion of arrangements to be made between these Governments and the German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian Governments or their nationals. If such properties, rights and interests have been the subject of liquidation, such liquidations are confirmed.

In the territories detached from Turkey by virtue of the present treaty the Governments exercising authority can within a year from the going into effect of this treaty dispose of the properties, rights and interests belonging to Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria or their nationals.

The proceeds of liquidations, already made or not yet made, shall accrue to the Reparation Commission established by the Treaty of Peace concluded with the States concerned, if the properties liquidated are owned by the German, Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian States. The proceeds shall accrue directly to the proprietors if the properties liquidated are private property.

The provisions of this article shall not apply to Turkish corporations.

The Turkish Government shall not be in any manner responsible for the measures foreseen in the present article.²⁵

The treaty Germany signed at Versailles contains the following clause, Article 155:

Germany undertakes to recognize and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Bulgaria and Turkey with reference to any rights, interests and privileges whatever that might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey or Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the present Treaty.

In Article 297 and Annex of the Treaty of Versailles the Allied and Associated Powers . . . "reserve the right to retain and liquidate all properties, rights and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions and protectorates, including territories ceded to them by the present treaty."

It is provided further that the proceeds of all properties so liquidated are to be used, first, to pay the claims due from German citizens to citizens of the Allied and Associated Powers; second, to pay to citizens of the Allied and Associated Powers claims against, or debts due from, citizens of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey; and, third, the balance may be transferred to the Reparation Commission and credit given Germany therefor.

Under these clauses Germany lost private property abroad valued at 11,740,000,000 gold marks, and Government claims against her former allies amounting to 8,600,000,000 gold marks, the value of the Bagdad railroad and associated enterprises being herein included.

While the conference of Lausanne was in session news came that a syndicate of British banks had obtained a controlling interest in the Bank für Orientalische Bahnen [Oriental Railways Bank] of Zurich, Switzerland. This bank was known to be the holding corporation of the Deutsche Bank for its Anatolian and Bagdad railroads. The British and Turkish delegates at Lausanne saw nothing extraordinary in this, but the French and others objected. This aspect of the case has not yet been disposed of. In the future, then, the railroads of Southwest Asia may be as much a bone of contention as in the past. The Bagdad railroad is still the "short cut" to India, and Great Britain is not likely to leave this in the hands of Governments that may not always be friendly. At best, the Near East railroad problem has been solved only to the extent of excluding the German element.

There is a touch of the "irony of fate" in the dates on which the several Bagdad loans made by the Deutsche Bank were to mature, to wit.: Bagdad 4 per cent, first series, 2001 Anno Domini; second series, 2006 A. D.; third series, 2010 A. D. It is interesting to speculate on what the Near East will be when those dates are written.

²⁵Ibid.; p. 25.

Industrial Awakening of China

By A. PERCIVAL FINCH

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THE fact that China is still far from a condition of civil tranquility tends to obscure other facts of China's national life of less sensational interest yet in themselves of incontestable significance in the light they throw on powerful forces now developing within the vast and troubled organism called China.

One of the most disturbing phases of China's development in recent years has been the increased use by the working class of mass action and organized agitation, not only as weapons in industrial disputes, but as a manifestation of growing political strength. There have been even larger demonstrations of this growing unrest, demonstrations of a political or patriotic character. Outstanding examples are the students' strike of 1919, the anti-Japanese boycott which followed, and the Hongkong seamen's strike early in 1922, when the whole of the China coast shipping and much of the European and Pacific shipping were paralyzed, and Hongkong was crippled. A more recent illustration was furnished when the Chinese laborers crippled the British possession of Shameen, near Hongkong, by a general stoppage of work merely over a question of personal liberty and a few regulations.

Behind all these movements, whether a coolies' strike for an additional cent a day, or a political move with larger demands, the laboring classes of China have provided the bulk of the support. The industrialization of China is gradually leading the masses formerly inarticulate to an appreciation of the power they possess, and they are using it, despite the tradition that ascribes to the Chinese an urbane acquiescence in all

things. Simultaneous with this awakening mass consciousness is the change in the status of the Kuomintang Party, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen's own party, which is the forerunner of the Labor Party of China.

Under the impetus of the industrial invasion, a great change has been made in mass relations, affecting many millions of people who come into closest contact with the West. The introduction of the mill and factory has vanquished the old handicraft form of native industry over a large area of China. From the foreign treaty ports on the coast, the agents of the new industrial dispensation have penetrated inland, and are penetrating even further, and the new life based on the requirements of modern industry has completely disintegrated the old native economic system with its many independent semi-family units in and outside the towns and villages. At the present time there is a broad industrial belt fringing the coast, the railways and the Yangtze River, thickest and most active in the immediate proximity of the treaty ports, where over 50,000,000 people are feeling the effects of the great change wrought by industrialization. A great social change has been introduced by planting all the elements of modern industry—the mill, factory, highly complicated machinery, large-scale production—in half a dozen of China's maritime provinces. The old hand occupations cannot compete with the machine-made product. In the industrial belt the old forms of native industry have disappeared.

The change that has set in cannot be appreciated by those unacquainted with the intensely rural life of the Chinese;

and the family basis which practically eliminates the individual and makes the family the unit of social strength in the country. In the wide industrial belt many of the old customs and old modes of living have disappeared, and in some provinces the family system is gradually breaking up, accelerated by pressure of population. In Kiangsu and Chekiang, the two most highly industrialized provinces, the family as an integral unit has almost disappeared. The small agricultural lots under successive family divisions are too poor to maintain the people living on them, and there have grown up towns and villages of people who must trudge to and from the mill every day. A few years ago people with their farm products saw mills spring up and marveled at them; now there are a large number of people born in the factory district that know they are intended for the mill or factory when they reach a suitable age—which in many cases is about six years. Within the last twenty years nearly 2,000 modern factories have been established in the industrial belt.

ECONOMIC IRRITANTS

The industrial belt of China is gradually assuming the dull uniformity of the West and casting off the once rigid characteristics that so greatly distinguished the Chinese from other peoples. The old social ties are passing. The amenities of the guild no longer suffice to rule the relations of the master and his workmen. The division between the employer and the employed is becoming more sharply defined. Instead of one master and a dozen men working and living together on terms of almost domestic intimacy, thousands of men and women are thrown together in a huge factory where they know no authority but that wielded by the foreman or overseer, and are conscious of no employer in that anonymous entity, the limited liability company. With modern industry as the basis of existence, it has been impossible to avoid the wave of social and industrial unrest which has swept other countries. High prices, higher

rents and all the economic irritants of these days have come to affect Chinese industrial life. In the last decade essential commodities have increased cost a hundred per cent. Even rice, the staple food, has not escaped. At the same time wages have not tended to increase proportionately. According to a report of the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, issued in 1923, the maximum daily wages for 300,000 men in 29 of the principal industries (when reduced to United States currency) range from about 20 to 50 cents, with a minimum as low as $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents a day. For 220,000 women employed in 29 principal industries the maximum wages range from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 42 cents a day and a minimum as low as 1 to 17 cents a day.

The difference between the income and the family budget has been accentuated by a higher standard of living. Chinese labor was once considered the cheapest in the world. The average wants of the Chinese were his bowl of rice, an occasional suit of cotton clothing and a roof to shelter him, a standard requiring a few cents a day, but this no longer satisfies even the humble coolie. China, besides being a large manufacturing nation, is importing goods on an increasingly large scale. In the course of its history, the foreign trade of China has doubled itself many times. Between 1885 and 1905 the foreign trade total increased fourfold. By 1914 it stood at Haikwan taels 955,403,253, and by 1923 Haikwan taels 1,726,782,369. [A Haikwan tael is worth about 80 cents]. The importation of foreign goods has led to the simple needs of the Chinese of a few years ago becoming considered inadequate by millions today. What were considered luxuries yesterday are absolute necessities today.

As the modern industrial system became established, the ideas of the Western working-class movement filtered in. China has recently been as much disturbed in industrial agitation as any other country. The guild has been found to be obsolete. What guilds remain are either employers' federations, or bank-



Gateway in the Great Wall of China at Shan-Hai-Kwan

ers' federations, or purely trade unions. Only the remote towns and villages beyond the industrial belt preserve intact the original status of their guilds, for labor conditions in China at present are such that there can be no industrial peace unless radical improvements are introduced. Although China was one of the last countries of the world to be industrialized, it is surprising to find how little the experience gained in the industrial development of other countries has been shown, except from a technical point of view. In the treatment of labor the lessons learned by England, for example, have been forgotten or overlooked, and the squalor and misery which disfigured the early days of English industrialism have been ruthlessly reproduced in China.

Economic insecurity, long hours, insanitary factories and other bad conditions have driven the Chinese workers to organize in unions and give many artisan guilds the objective of Western socialism. Hundreds of labor unions have been formed, with an estimated membership of 500,000. Canton has over 200 unions, Shanghai nearly 100 and Hankow, Wuchang, Tientsin, Wusih and dozens of smaller centres smaller numbers of labor organizations. Along the coasts the seamen have a very powerful union, and the Peking-Hankow rail-

way workers are united in an organization that is extending to other railways and growing in strength. The strike is now a recognized weapon and there are very few branches of industry in which the workers have not seen fit to resort to this means of forcing the employers' hands. Well-planned and well-organized strikes have demonstrated the Chinese laborers' capacity for solidarity. An examination of the strikes within the last five years shows that the majority have proved successful. In Canton in 1921 there were twenty-one strikes, only one of which failed. From 1919 to 1923, there were two hundred and seventy-nine strikes within the international settlement of Shanghai. Of the sixty-nine more important strikes in China from June, 1921, to February, 1923, forty-two were completely successful, only a few of the remainder being total failures.

MILITARIST OPPRESSION

These successful strikes have had a further effect. Agitation and mass action that originally had only an economic objective have been extended to the political field. Strengthened by the experience gained in industrial conflicts, influenced by the spread of socialist doctrines chiefly from Russia, and driven to unite by the oppression of the militarists, the Chinese workers have adopted political aims and purposes. Under the Government draft regulations unions are given legal recognition, and the large companies accord a certain amount of recognition to union representatives in negotiations. Under the rule of the Tuchuns (Military Governors of the Provinces), however, there is no tolerance for union activities, and they are suppressed with a fierce vindictiveness. Many a labor leader has expiated his defense of the workers' rights with death. General Wu Pei-fu, while Military Dictator of China, was one of the most strenuous enemies of labor unions. He ended a strike on the Peking-Hankow Railway by shooting down the strikers and executing the

leaders, and on a subsequent occasion he added to his record by shooting five more labor leaders at his yamen in Lo-yang.

This display of the iron hand to stamp out activities which are legal in other countries created much feeling among the laboring classes of China, and was one of the factors turning them against the Peking Government. In their search for support denied them in their own country, they appealed to other countries distinguished by labor triumphs, denouncing militarism as even worse than industrial exploitation. An indication of the feeling among the Chinese workers is given by the following quotation from a letter sent in March, 1924, by a number of Shanghai unions to Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, and M. Karakhan, the Soviet representative in Peking:

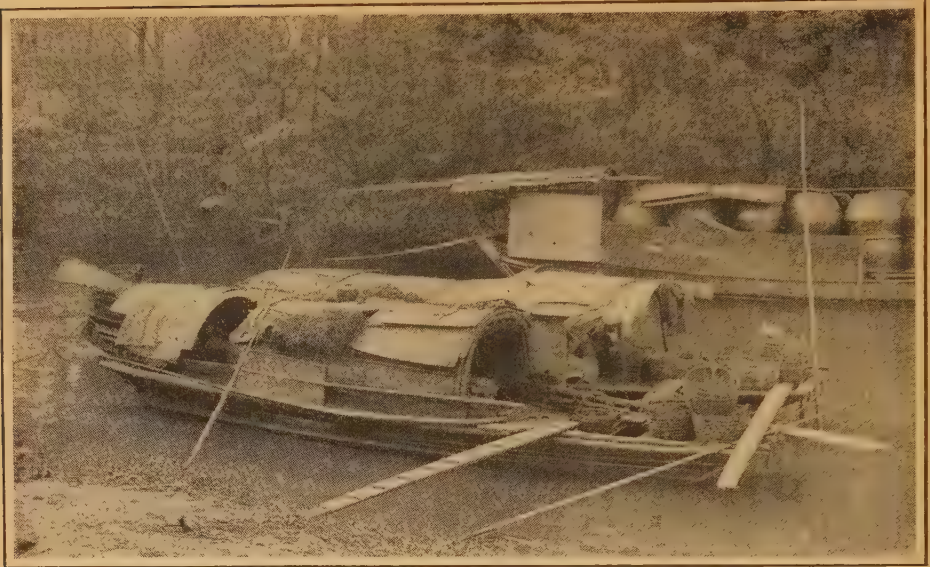
The militarist Government in this country has become tyrannical to the extreme. The education of the worker is still in its tender infancy, and because of this the laborers have to suffer under the militarists' oppression in addition to the capitalists' exploitation. Moreover, all the outcast politicians and some of the educated classes who call themselves Socialists take the opportunity of the labor movement to show their apparent kindness to

the workmen, but carry out their plans for enriching themselves. From the sacrifice of Hwang-Nai and Pang Jen-chuan on Jan. 7, 1922, and the tragedy of the Peking-Hankow Railway workers on Feb. 7, 1923, we can clearly see the atrocity of the militarists, combined with the capitalists and the sinister policy of the false Socialists.

This complaint is typical of thousands made in manifestoes and documents issued broadcast since the labor movement assumed its present proportions. Militarism is the flail that is driving the laborers to seek redress in their own organizations. Like all bodies glowing with the sudden realization of their strength, the many centres of labor activity are seething with a ferment of ideas. All the radical doctrines of the West inspired by the vision of a revolutionary millennium have been absorbed without any general trend to one particular creed. Nevertheless, what has been created is a loose and unsettled temper, an intensification of class feeling and a dangerous sullenness that is capable of violent outbursts. Typical of the mood that prevails is such an utterance of a Chinese radical leader as this: We are ready to join in the great international revolution when the workmen of the world, according to Marxian



Wheelbarrows used in China often for transporting merchandise long distances



Chinese houseboat typical of many in which whole families make their homes throughout life. The boat in the background is loaded with wine jars

socialism, will rise and seize their respective Governments. Or again, the following from the manifesto of a political association:

Brothers and sisters! We are in the same camp of weak nations. We should fight hand in hand against the exploitation and oppression by imperialistic States which have formed a united front against liberation and the nationalist movement not only in China, not only in Asia, but in all countries in the world.

It is only when we consider such declarations, which are made or circulated throughout the industrial belt, that we can grasp the still greater change that is following the industrial change.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHIES

In 1922 there was a considerable trend toward Bolshevik doctrines, but evidence pointed to propaganda financed by the Soviet as the cause. Moscow for some time played on the complaining masses of China as on an organ. Representatives were exchanged long before diplomatic relations acquired a legal status. A Chinese delegation attended the Congress of the Third International in Moscow, and it

was chiefly through the stimulus given by the Russian Communists that May Day was celebrated in China as Labor Day. Upon the death of Lenin great sympathy was manifested, and when a Labor Government came into power in Great Britain the event was hailed with enthusiasm, among the first congratulatory telegrams being one from a body of Chinese workers.

The need of a national labor party is being strongly urged by the surreptitious, but growing, labor press of the country. The workers are fully aware of the dangers of blindly following agitators whose real purpose is not to aid the cause of labor but to forward the aims of political schemers. If there is any one party in China that has any sympathy with labor, it is the Kuomintang Party. In sharp contrast to the iron-handed methods of General Wu Pei-fu was the attitude of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Canton, the home of labor organization. Every encouragement was held out to the unions by Dr. Sun. Canton gave them legal recognition under its Constitution. The Southern Government also acted as mediator in disputes and provided facilities for the holding of na-

tional conferences, of which two were held in 1924, while General Wu chose to act as despot to the laborers and the other militarists followed his example. Dr. Sun protected labor and at the same time strengthened his party with increasingly powerful elements. Driven by militaristic oppression to seek support elsewhere, the workers of China looked to Canton as the source of their deliverance, and their opposition to militarism, as exemplified by the northern war lords and their rabble armies, went to swell Dr. Sun's resources. "The Canton Government under Dr. Sun Yat-sen fights for the overthrow of the work of militarism and imperialism in China," one manifesto read.

From his capital in the South, Dr. Sun was behind all forms of agitation and unrest. Not only the Province of Kwangtung, but the adjoining territories, including Hongkong and Shamen, appear to have felt his influence by organizing strikes and making political agitation an inseparable feature of their existence. It is difficult to distinguish what is primarily an industrial dispute from what is a political movement. The Hongkong seamen's strike of January-March, 1922, was the first demonstration of the capacity of Chinese

labor for organized action. The whole of the Chinese coastal shipping was brought to a standstill, and the European and Pacific lines were disturbed. Sympathetic action followed, many other branches of Chinese labor in Hongkong leaving the island. The strike was characterized by a solidarity that made it clear that it was being supported from Canton. About 20,000 seamen and wharf workers stopped work, but the total number of strikers, including the many who joined them in sympathy, doubled and even trebled that number. So effective was the strike that Hongkong was paralyzed, 250,000 tons of shipping tied up, and more than \$1,000,000 lost by shipowners. The seamen gained their point by obtaining a substantial increase in pay, and at the same time demonstrated the foolishness of attempting to crush labor agitation by force. The wonderful organization displayed in the strike came as a shock to the employers along the China coast, who realized that henceforth industrial relations would have to be placed on a different footing. A new era, indeed, was opened in China by the strike, an era marked by well-planned agitation and the development of the strike as a most powerful weapon for industrial and political conflict.



Ewing Galloway

Labor still cheap in China, coolies are largely used instead of horses or motors

SUN YAT-SEN'S POSITION

The history of Dr. Sun's fortunes during the last two years or so before his death showed the fidelity with which the masses supported him. All reports from Canton told of the precarious hold he had on the Provinces against the Northern opposition, but the Shameen strike showed that, however weak was the affection, sapped by continued financial demands, of the merchants and wealthier classes of the South for their leader, the faith of the laboring classes and the people generally did not wilt under their leaders' reverses. The Shameen strike was not economic, but political. Following the attempt to assassinate Governor-General Merlin of Indo-China, it was decided to introduce a system of passes and tighten the control of Chinese entering the British concession. This attempt to interfere with personal liberty resulted in every Chinese in Shameen walking out, leaving the foreigners to their own resources. The strike was settled on a basis virtually of the status quo, the settlement being reached through the mediation of Dr. Sun himself.

Both these southern strikes were notable because they were not marred by bloodshed. On both occasions they involved a diminution of foreign prestige, and led more and more to the belief that the power exerted by Dr. Sun through these disturbances was aimed at the foreigner. Together with the many strikes and demonstrations of recent years they marked the adoption of a new bloodless weapon in China. All the Canton movements had had the effect of solidifying the rank and file of labor and impelling them to accept the dictatorship of Canton, with support of the Kuomintang Party as the Labor Party of China. The population of the industrial belt is only a small percentage of the vast population of China, which, according to the latest Customs estimate, stands at 440,000,000, but history has proved that it is only necessary for the vital centres to be affected

before the effect is felt nationally. Moreover, in the industrial belt is located the present industrial wealth of China, where education is most advanced, where people are more in touch with Western ideas, and where immediate contact with foreigners engenders nationalism. Under honest and high-minded leadership, there is no doubt that the laboring masses of China could be led to take an active part in their country's development, and by attaining a fair and reasonable standard of living form a stable and enlightened basis of the new social life which China must adopt to accommodate herself with the changes introduced by Western industry. On the other hand, the present unrest in the hands of unscrupulous politicians can be used to sever China from the good-will of the world, perpetuate domestic strife, and accentuate the national travail.

No fair-minded observer of industry in China can deny that the lot of the Chinese laborers is far from happy, that they have not received the treatment to which they are entitled, and that the present unrest is not wholly the work of Bolshevik agents—a bogey which colors the judgment of many people on the situation. In wise hands, however, this mass of articulate labor can be used for national good. The popular mind at present is inflamed by many irritating questions, such as extraterritoriality, customs rights, national sovereignty, questions which are only half-understood but the spirit of which they have grasped. There are those who fear repetition of the Boxer madness, but it is doubtful if any mass uprising would ever take that form. A new move against the foreigners will more likely come as a nation-wide strike, bloodless but effective, of the same character as that so vividly demonstrated at Hong-kong and Shameen. It all depends on the disposition of China's increasing industrial population who are learning the strength of mass action.

Australian Labor Government After Ten Years

By EDWARD GRANVILLE THEODORE

Premier of Queensland, 1919-25

AT the end of nearly ten years' experience as Minister and of five and a half years as Premier of the Labor Government of Queensland, I may be trusted to state dispassionately the effect of that rule on the people of the State. As, also, I leave State politics soon, my review of the results of Labor administration may be trusted as a story of fact.

Queensland has 670,000 square miles of territory and a population of 850,000. It was a country of immense pastoral estates—now being broken up into smaller areas, and changing its ownership by, in many cases, foreign pastoral companies, proprietorship by

individual and resident Australians. Similarly the Government, long held by trading and financial interests, with the big pastoralists as a dominant political class, has come into the hands of the actual workers, who are the great majority of the people.

The discovery of gold seventy years ago marks the beginning of real settlement in Australia. Enriched by the labor of the diggers, the pastoral and trading classes—whom Chief Justice

Since writing this article Mr. Theodore has resigned his position as Premier of Queensland to enter the larger arena of Australian Federal politics, where the Labor Party has for some time virtually regarded him as leader and prospective Prime Minister of the Commonwealth.



Map of Australia showing the position of Queensland, which, as the inset map indicates, is the nearest part of the Commonwealth to the United States

Higginbotham of Victoria styled "the wealthy lower orders"—claimed the Government, and held it for fifty years. The Eureka rebellion of 1854 was a demand for those political reforms which we enjoy today, but more than fifty years passed before the Eureka demands became enactments. The newly rich of the State of New South Wales asked for a Colonial House of Peers, but local public opinion killed the proposition; the newly rich of the State of Victoria asked for a Colonial House of Peers, plus a British or German Prince as King, and local public opinion, even with only half its electoral power realized, killed that proposal with laughter and scorn. Thenceforth privilege satisfied itself by entrenchment behind property, and until 1890 the voice of the great mass of the most working class country in the world was but a murmur.

The Australian Labor Party was born in the 'shearers' and maritime strikes of 1890. Largely its beginning was not in city craft unions but in the unions of the bush and of the sea. It has no counterpart in the world; its best men had the good sense to note the futility of strikes (whose success or failure were often the heralds of strikes-to-be) and to decide that courts of industrial arbitration must take their place. Before Labor could secure industrial arbitration courts it must secure political power; and so the Australian Labor Party was born. In 1893 the Parliamentary Labor Party of Queensland came into existence with seventeen members; and since then the Australian Labor Party has been in power in all the Parliaments of the States and in the Federal Parliament, too. It was defeated in most of the States and in the Commonwealth during the war because of imperialistic hysteria against a straightout Australian policy; but it never lost hold in Queensland since its first return to power in 1915. Today Labor holds the Government in four of the six States and is almost certain to capture the two States and the Federal Parliament now dominated by Imperialists, who are mostly importers



EDWARD GRANVILLE THEODORE
Premier at the head of the Queensland
Labor Government for five and a half
years

and free traders, and the enemies of Australian secondary industries.

LABOR'S POLITICAL POWER

The four Queensland elections since 1915 gave Labor these majorities in a House of 72: 1915, 18; 1918, 24; 1920, 4; 1923, 14. Labor has never been stronger than now. As we become better understood we gain strength, opposed as we are to anything but constitutional change and taking no other steps toward reform than the vote of the elector. We are opposed to force because we know that change by force can only be maintained by force. We know that the necessary reconstruction of society can be secured in permanent and stable fashion only by the people's will. We know that unless our arguments appeal to reason and our methods give confidence by their deliberation our re-



The homestead of a Queensland cattle station (ranch)

sults will be temporary and unsubstantial.

The Australian Labor Party's objective is the replacement of the capitalistic institutions now used for the exploitation of human labor. Present capitalistic institutions stand condemned by their wastefulness; by the fact that honest toil is often requited by poverty. Our aim as a Labor Government is to strike the just balance between effort and its result. More than elsewhere on earth Australia is fitted for the peaceful and gradual conquest of the old order. We suffered no Czarism that must be the father of Nihilism; no thousand years of vested interests that bred communism. The State of Queensland has an area of 430,000,000 acres, and of that only 27,000,000 acres are alienated. The other 403,000,000 acres remain forever State property. Almost the first act of the Labor Government was to abolish further alienations as freehold and to bring 403,000,000 acres under leasehold tenure, with rentals payable

to the State. By so doing we placed farmers in possession of land without a mortgage or unearned increment to leg-iron them. The land is as good for use as ever, and if land is not used it should not be held. Labor's other work for the primary producer includes the establishment of cooperative control of the marketing of crops, benefiting both producer and consumer, and eliminating much of the worst evils of the middleman. The Sugar Cane Prices Board, for instance, has given the sugar farmer protection against the miller and refiner and saved the grower from his old fate of being partially crushed with his own cane.

The following enactments, legislated into effect since 1915 and selected from a long list of measures of similar character, indicate the humane and reformist nature of Labor's policy: Industrial arbitration for the elimination of strikes and the regulation of wages and industrial conditions in all industries and callings; a workers' compensation law,

which provides insurance against accidents and occupational diseases; a workers' accommodation law, requiring employers in rural industries to provide adequate housing for employes; a primary producers' organization act, which, with financial assistance from the Government, enables farmers to organize for the betterment of agriculture. Complementary to this are the primary products pools act, fruit marketing legislation, the agricultural bank act, measures for the acquisition and marketing of sugar, wheat, cheese and other products, an agricultural education act and a large body of additional legislation for the encouragement and protection of the man on the land. A profiteering prevention act operates against undue increases in commodity prices. A fair rents act operates similarly with respect to house rents. A maternity hospital act enables the Government to provide lying-in homes at scores of country centres. Unemployed workers' insurance mitigates the hardships of unemployment and is based on contributions from workers, from industry and from the State. A workers' homes act authorizes the Government to build dwellings and sell them to workers on easy and extended terms. Legislative provision also has been made for the abolition of cap-

ital punishment, reform of the Oaths act, appointment of a Public Curator and Official Trustee, women to serve on juries, municipal reform, adult franchise for local authorities as well as for the State Legislature, control of money lenders, auctioneers and commission agents, suppression of "wild-cat" companies in oil prospecting, mining and insurance, reduction of hours of trading in liquor bars, taxation of unimproved values in freehold land, progressive tax on incomes and graduated duty on estates at death, prevention of dummying of farms by large landowners, control of waterpower by the State, Government-financed cooperative sugar mills, maize elevators and silos, wheat sheds, butter and bacon factories, standardization of fruit, meat and dairy products intended for export, State-owned metallurgical works and coal mines, and a prickly pear commission to deal with the pear-infested lands of the State

UPPER HOUSE ABOLISHED

From the time the Labor Party took office in 1915 our program was thwarted by a Legislative Council—a kind of non-hereditary House of Lords—non-elective and appointed for life. We abolished that anachronism in 1921, and the State is now governed solely



Logs on the way to a sawmill in Queensland



A Queensland pineapple plantation

by the one elective House of Legislature.

We have felt, and still experience, bitter hostile misrepresentation by the financial and profiteering interests we have subjected to control and by almost all the existent press, but we continue in popular confidence. We are bitterly criticized in our finance, when our chief failing is that we think of government more in human terms than in terms of money. One phase of our "extravagance" is to spend 40 per cent. more on hospitals for a population of 850,000 than does the State of Victoria, with a population approaching 2,000,000. We carry women and children from the back country on State railways to the sea at half excursion rates, well knowing that it does not pay in terms of bookkeeping, but believing that a happy and contented people are the best assets of the State. We have also been "extravagant" in the matter of maternity hospitals for the back country and in the expenditure on infants' welfare and

baby clinics, and dental, medical and ophthalmic attention for school children; and are proud of the "extravagance." Any amount of money can be got for immigration; but while giving discriminating attention to that necessity, we see a closer duty in making the State birth rate 100 per cent. effective, or as nearly that as we can make it. We have neither abolished capitalism nor built Heaven, but we have made Queensland the best country in the world for the bulk of the people.

We have had to fight every inch of the way; to fight all financial interests to establish State insurance with lowered premiums and heightened benefits. We succeeded in the taxation of absentee capitalists, in municipal ownership of tramways, in the insurance of unemployed workers, in keeping down the cost of living, and in increasing the rentals of State lands held by great pastoral companies, in the teeth of the bitterest opposition that did not hesitate to attack the credit of the most

prosperous and solvent people on earth. That opposition for a period led to a financial boycott of Queensland on the London money market and put us on the money market of New York for two dollar loans, and American holders of Queensland bonds may be satisfied that their security is gold standard. The London financial difficulty has since been overcome. Loans for £25,000,000 to meet maturities in Great Britain were recently issued in London and subscribed many times over.

OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM

The Labor Party of Queensland has two enemies—widely opposite in belief but similar in action; one, the Tory who is an Anarchist because he refuses to reform anything, even the bad and the shapeless; and the other the Communist, mostly imported, who does not understand Australian thought and method, and whose only treatment for a watch overfast or overslow is to subject it to the tender mercies of a steam hammer. It is unlikely that communism will ever secure in Australia an audience that counts. Communism is ex-

otic and the Australian Labor Party is indigenous. Hating most things that are familiar and loving only that which it does not know, communism preaches against "White Australia," which is the Australian religion. That, and his habit of preaching strikes and direct action while using all that industrial arbitration has given the Australian worker, secures for the Communist only the crude minority to whom even rudimentary political thought is impossible. Australians will have only the Australian way—the reasoned and gradual progress to the objective as the only progress that can be permanent; the education of our political opponents to the wisdom of preventing the exploitation of one citizen by another, and of giving all citizens a fair deal; the security of every man's honestly acquired possessions; the care that toil shall not be but half required; the holding of the balance truly between effort and result; and the constant movement toward the betterment of the citizen by removing the fear of poverty from all men; until at last we shall banish poverty by eliminating waste from a world that produces more than enough for all.



An artesian bore, Central Queensland, Australia

Hugo Grotius—Founder of International Law

By H. G. H. VAN DER MANDERE
Dutch Legal Historian

HUIG VAN GROOT (1583-1645), famous Dutch jurist, better known under the Latinized form of his name—Hugo Grotius—may accurately be described as the founder of modern international law, thanks to his monumental work: “*De jure belli ac paci*” (“Of the Law of War and Peace”), published in March, 1625. A pioneer of the fundamental idea of the League of Nations, Grotius has continuously gained in prestige throughout the ages and he exercises today an influence in the field of international law which cannot be overestimated. It is peculiarly fitting at this time, when 300 years have just elapsed since the publication of the great work on which his fame is solidly based (1625-1925), to estimate that influence on the development of international law during the last centuries and to lay bare its cause.

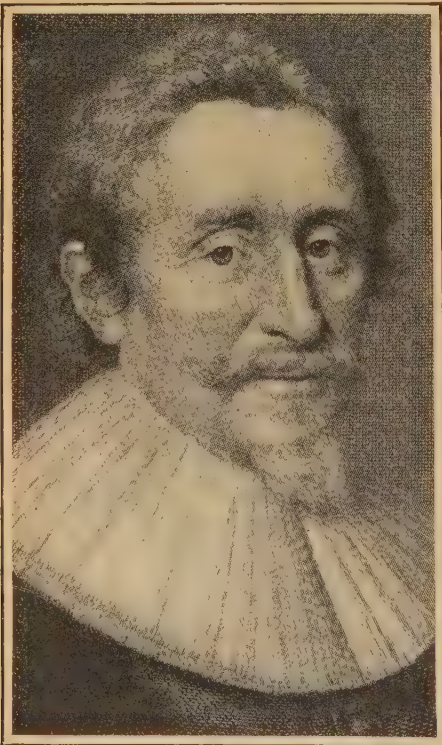
At a very youthful age, Hugo Grotius was one of the most illustrious students the University of Leyden had ever known. Immediately after the completion of his studies he was included in an embassy sent by the Dutch States of that time to Henry IV, one of the great monarchs of France, who was so impressed by the personality and attainments of Grotius that he pointed him out to his retinue with the comment: “*Le miracle de la Hollande*” (“the marvel of Holland”). This phrase is inscribed below the well-known portrait painted by Van Mierevelt and now adorning the Town Hall at Delft. Grotius was called quite early to high office in the Republic of the United Netherlands. This fact was destined to affect his whole future career, for as Pensionary of Rotterdam—then by no means the important commercial town

of the present time—he was foremost in the ranks of those concerned in the apparently religious, but in reality political, internecine conflict, dividing the Netherlands during the so-called Twelve Years’ Truce, which interrupted the war with Spain from 1609 to 1621. Between the Stadholder of that time, Prince Mauritz of Nassau, and Grand Pensionary Oldenbarneveldt, both great personalities, the question at issue in this conflict was purely one of power. When eventually the Stadholder succeeded in obtaining the upper hand and Oldenbarneveldt’s proud head was demanded on the scaffold, Grotius with others was imprisoned in the castle of Loevestein, which is still in good preservation to this day. There he remained for scarcely two years, succeeding with the aid of his wife and servant in escaping miraculously, concealed in a book-chest, from the castle, and fleeing by way of Antwerp to Paris, where he was hospitably received by King Louis XIII and placed by him in special “*sauvegarde*” (State protection). He stayed in Paris almost to the day of his death in 1645. Two periods characterize this residence in Paris: the first, from 1621 to 1631, when he lived there as a private citizen; the second, from 1634 to 1645, when he acted as Ambassador of the then powerful kingdom of Sweden. Between the two periods came a visit, not entirely without danger, to his native country, undertaken with the purpose of once more entering the service of the Netherlands, on the assumption, which proved vain, that passions might have cooled down during his absence.

During his whole life Grotius labored hard; he acquired fame as a theologian, as historian, as Latinist and as man of

letters. He composed poetry with pleasure and ease, and his knowledge of Latin astonished his professors at Leyden; his translations of ancient tragedies are many in number. At Loevestein he wrote his so-called "Introduction" to Dutch jurisprudence, which is still consulted when jurists have to appeal to ancient national customs; he also wrote there his books on the Evangelists, which are among his best theological works. In Paris, at the beginning of his exile, he conceived and in two years completed his work on "The Law of War and Peace," thereby establishing international law as an independent science and divesting it of the moralizing and philosophic coverings by which it had hitherto been hidden from the eyes of many.

This was not the first time that Grotius had written for publication in his domain. In 1604, when a little over



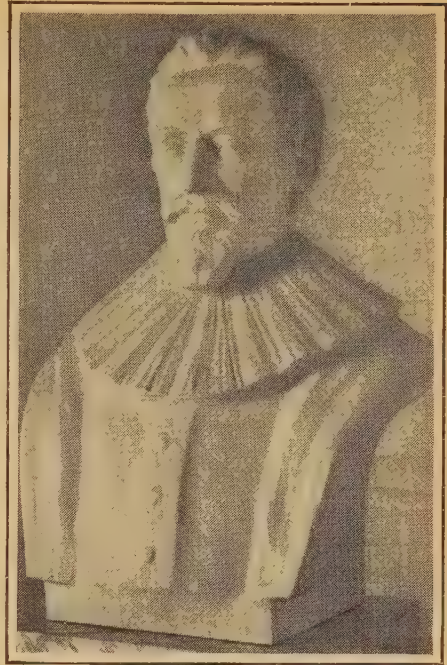
HUGO GROTIUS

From the painting by Van Mierevelt in the Town Hall at Delft

20, he had written his "Prize Law," in execution of a commission which he had received from the East India Company following the capture in the Straits of Malacca of a richly laden Portuguese ship, which had raised the question of the company's right to take such action and the shareholders' willingness to accept their share of responsibility for it. When the work was ready for publication, however, the question had been practically decided and only one chapter of the book—that on the "Mare Liberum" or Freedom of the Sea—came at once into print. Grotius feared that the negotiations carried on with Spain concerning the Twelve Years' Truce would tend to the loss of free navigation to the Indies, which would, he considered, and rightly so, be disastrous to the Netherlands. His publication was intended as a warning against this, but the truce was already made and the "free-sea" guaranteed when the work appeared. James I, then King of England, made the issue, however, unexpectedly actual by his pretensions regarding English sovereignty over the surrounding seas. For not only did England demand fishing rights for her subjects, but claimed also for herself the prestige of being the supreme sea power, in acknowledgment of which it was demanded that English ships should be the first to receive gun salutes. From no quarter, therefore, was Grotius's work on the "Mare Liberum" more vigorously contested than on the part of the English. After the "Mare Clausum" work of Selden the controversy was allowed to drop. It was not until nearly three centuries later, in the years 1914 to 1918, that an unprecedented actuality was once more given to the "Mare Liberum" principle laid down by Grotius.

To grasp the significance of the great Dutch scholar's work on international law it is necessary to place one's self in the period during which it was written and to trace the development of the international idea from the Middle Ages to the time when Grotius wrote. The legality of war was not questioned in

the Middle Ages and for long subsequent thereto. War was accepted as a special but necessary phenomenon; attempts were made, especially by the Church, to check its ravages, but the right to wage war, even on behalf of private persons, was not denied. Doubt on this point arose in the minds of Vitoria and Suarez, legal authorities of Spanish clerical antecedents, but rather from considerations of morality and conscience than on the basis of legal arguments. These scholars still viewed war as the appointed means of administering justice, and, owing to their lack of historical knowledge, took the stand that the fortune of war served constantly the cause of justice. The case was somewhat different with the Italian jurist, Gentili, who concerned himself only with the right of war and considered even preventive war justified under certain conditions, but who, for the rest, had no belief in the justice or fairness of the decision by arms. Quite different, on the other hand, was the view of Grotius, who at once imposed on war a long series of criteria. War should be in defense of one's own country, family or property; it must aim at the removal of a striking injustice. At the same time, however, Grotius accepted, although in a different spirit from that shown by the majority in those days, the doctrine of the sovereignty of States, in consequence of which contradictory jurisprudence among them appeared to him to be excluded. Hence the conception of Grotius that no State or citizen should proceed with a supposed right against another State or against a citizen of another State, otherwise than on the grounds of an established decision. To avoid conflict with the idea of State sovereignty he granted a right of priority to that party whose rights or interests were evidently damaged. That a theoretical foundation was hereby laid is obvious. In the confused times of political egotism in which Grotius lived, however, this foundation view could make little headway. The working of time was necessary for the devel-



The bust of Grotius in The Hague Peace Palace

opment of his ideas. That necessary lapse of time has now occurred and the world today is giving to Grotius the honor that is due.

THE "LAW OF WAR AND PEACE"

The monumental work on which the fame of Grotius rests—the "Law of War and Peace"—was published in Paris in 1625. Since then it has been translated into nearly every language of the world. In the course of this very year—1925—after a lapse of three centuries—a fortieth newly revised edition appeared. The work was divided by its learned author into three logically distinguished volumes. In the first of these Grotius discussed in its more general aspects the question of war's essential nature, whether it could ever be just, and if so, under what circumstances, while he put the question, of great importance for his contemporaries, as to who might be counted justified in waging war. In his second book

he entered upon further considerations regarding the causes of war and how such causes might originate. In the third volume he dealt with the moral and material aspects of war arising in various cases and with matters of international practice, not exclusively connected with war, but directly connected therewith.

Grotius was the first international jurist who openly condemned *war as a judicial means*, demonstrating that war in the society of nations, the possibility of whose creation was already discerned by him, had only in one respect a right to exist, viz., as a measure against States which did not conduct themselves in accordance with the provisions of international judicial order. More need not be said to show how far he was in advance of his time; this, however, does not alter the fact that he was a product of that time, its customs, its politics and its egotism. Grotius knew only the armies of mercenaries, the compulsory service problem being then nonexistent, as was likewise the necessity for the maintenance of national military forces complete in themselves. Any one attempting, therefore, to apply all the Dutch savant's contemplations, especially those concerning merely the law of war, to the present time, would be disappointed. His contemplations on force directed against the individual, on confiscation of property, on prisoners and the treatment of the vanquished, appear superfluous to us now, as written in a period when conceptions of these matters were exceedingly vague and unformulated as a code of established law. These, however, are not the vital features of the book. Other great questions are discussed: Whether State sovereignty is to mean the exercise of selfish and arbitrary power; whether the powerful State has merely to aim at making itself independent, i. e., "invincible," in a military and economic sense, or should take into account the interests of the States by which it is environed; whether so-called third States may and can regard an injustice inflicted on another State as something

which does not concern them. These are questions which have for successive decades aroused animated discussion on both sides of the ocean, and they were asked by Grotius three centuries ago.

It can be termed no accident, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, that a son of the most cosmopolitan country of that time, which had more interests abroad than any other nation, should have *discovered* the existence of international law. Nor is it an accident that the work of Grotius has exercised and still exercises today a lasting influence. Grotius condemned war as a judicial measure, but because of this view he made a sharp distinction between war as a means for the carrying out of designs of power, and as a measure of international action taken in the service of the common right. He retained it, as a necessary evil, because there was nothing else, granting as he did both to arbitration and to international conferences only a subordinate place. Hence in contradistinction to the more philosophic views of Suarez or Vittoria, he placed both parties to a declared war on an equal footing, i. e., from the moment that the state of war was entered upon, Grotius no longer made a distinction between the State which had unchained the injustice of war and the State defending itself against this. We see him thus as a pioneer of modern international law, first codified, thanks to the important work of Lieber, in the War of Succession, and on that basis, at Brussels in 1874 and at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, regulated in detail. Here a direct practical influence has issued from Grotius's work, imprinting itself on the laws of war of the nations; likewise on what, during a fairly long period of the nineteenth century, was referred to as the law of neutrality, viz., the idea that the neutral State should observe a like restraint toward all belligerent parties, whether its sympathies were on the one side or the other, whether its feeling for right caused it to hope for the victory of the one or the other. Since that time the influence of Grotius, gradually and al-

most unnoticed, has made itself felt and has found international expression.

Grotius not only discovered international law; he also *created* it. He discovered it, because it did exist, even though it had hitherto been unobserved by its contemporaries. But he also created it, by raising international law to an independent science, free of considerations of morality, ethics or the like, into which it had to a great extent been plunged and left by its clerical predecessors. In this sense Grotius has no predecessors; he was indisputably the first who concentrated attention on international law as an independent whole. In that respect both Suarez and Gentili were only in part his forerunners. From their works he borrowed material for further elaboration, but they did not influence his creative labors any more than the many who, previous to him and also subsequently, evolved plans for a complete organization of States. The list of these latter is as long as it is imposing, but Grotius, the discoverer of international law, has no place therein. He did not need a plan for international organization because he saw the unity of the society of nations gradually but irresistibly growing. He would undoubtedly have pronounced such plans to be premature, as there existed no real foundation for them. How, indeed, can one imagine an organization of independent and self-sufficing States, when such States rarely existed in the time of Grotius? Confidence in the self-development of international law—nothing less than that and that only—inspired and guided Grotius in the writing of his momentous work.

FIRST APPEALS TO INTERNATIONAL LAW

The written law in those days, however, was not unknown. The States General of the Dutch Republic appealed more than once in 1576 and subsequent years to a law between neighboring States; and the starvation blockade undertaken by Holland against Spain at the end of the sixteenth century was based not only on Roman law, but also on common international law as then

existing. During the seventeenth century there existed constant difference of opinion between the Netherlands and England and appeals were made on a similar basis. At the beginning of the Silesian War, Frederick the Great, defended by his "law of necessity," his undeniable breach of the general international law. It may be admitted that in the long list of treaties dominating the world history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, international law was scarcely, if ever, mentioned; and yet there is a certain proportion between the growth of the States and that of their international relations, for the settlement of which international law was invoked. It is not to be denied, however, that in the course of the eighteenth century the original natural law formulated by Grotius and the creative force of his work were gradually lost. The Positivist school took its place. This latter taught that only what was established by written treaties, or at the most was evident from established customs, should be considered as international law. To the Positivist school we are indebted for von Martens's standard work on international treaties, which is still published and consulted.

If the Positivist line of reasoning were followed, however, all possibility of free development of international law would be denied. First Vattel, then Moser and von Martens, led to the apparent abandonment of Grotius, toward the end of the eighteenth century, contributing toward general acceptance of the doctrine of unfettered sovereignty. As expressed by Vattel:

"It is permissible for every free and sovereign State to decide, in conformity with its own conscience, as to what action its national obligations impose upon it, what it can or can not do justly. If others try to judge this, they attack its liberty and encroach upon its most sacred rights."

That is what Vattel taught, in contradistinction to Grotius, who believed that the criminal State might and even must be punished. To him, therefore, prize-law, with the discussion of which he

began his international law career, was a part of penalization, admissible only as settlement of what might eventually be due as penalty or indemnification. Vattel, on the other hand—and according to his conception it could not be otherwise—allowed in war the taking of whatever is to be got and appeared even inclined to return to the olden times of plundering. It was, therefore, not surprising that the tenets of Grotius, as the Leyden professor, Van Vollenhoven, pointed out, could find no support in the then young nation developing across the sea in America. This view, however, was modified with continuous demonstration that the Positivist school built up its theories on false premises. The American War of Independence contributed greatly to the establishing of the new tenets in international relations and to causing the light, which the work of Grotius had already made to shine for a moment, to break through afresh.

GROTIUS PIONEER OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not, at least as regards Europe, very suitable periods for the realization of Grotius's ideas through their practical application to a society of States. Even Grotius, as previously indicated, advocated the idea of the sovereignty of States—an idea far more striking at that time because of the fact that international intercourse was less developed. There was here, however, a great difference in principle between Grotius and his contemporaries; Grotius viewed State sovereignty within the limits of due independence of each member of a community, while his contemporaries adopted it in all the license later advocated by Vattel. It should not be forgotten that in the time of Grotius people had scarcely outgrown the idea that Ambassadors were to be regarded as spies of the Governments which sent them, and though the principle of their inviolability existed, the fundamental conceptions to which this principle owed its existence were by no

means present in all minds. No argument is needed to show that, in the same degree that these ideas moved in the direction of the present view, unity among the States also increased.

Nevertheless, political egotism remained. One need only open Grotius's book to be repeatedly struck by passages directed against that egotism. In his preface he says:

If many count the justice, which they demand from citizens, unnecessary for the nation as such, or for its rules, this is due to the misconception that they see, in the first place in justice, only the benefit accruing therefrom. With citizens, too weak individually for their own protection, this benefit is obvious, but great States, self-sufficing for their own protection, do not appear to be thereby attached to the virtue, which is prominent in the homes and is called justice.

Elsewhere he writes:

A citizen who observes the laws of his country does not thereby act foolishly, although in consequence of these laws he must deny himself certain things which might be of advantage to him personally. In similar manner one may reasonably speak of a nation not being considered foolish, which does not emphasize its own interests, in order to tread under foot the common laws of the States on behalf thereof. The cases are absolutely identical. A citizen who for his own advantage infringes the civil law of his own country destroys thereby the foundation of his own interests, and at the same time of his posterity. The nation that opposes the natural law and the law of the nations overthrows also the bulwark of its peace in the future.

In these sentences Grotius reveals himself to be a pacifist in the higher significance of the term. He was not the sort of man to plead exclusively for amelioration of war, or to lament over its calamities and horrors, to which he, like his contemporaries, had grown accustomed. He saw, however, that the resort to arms was the least suitable means for the settling of controversies, and following that view he opposed war with all the vigor he possessed.

A secure society of States—so long as man remains man—is possible only if means exist for protecting this security, means alike preventive and repressive, such as prevail in national life. It is

indisputable that for Grotius, international cooperation as a means to this end was a living idea. In this he resembled Abbé de St. Pierre or William Penn, both of whom, like Grotius, entertained the idea of settling political disputes by means of a legal tribunal of the States, with this great difference, however, that while these and other writers regarded such a tribunal as a part of the organization of States, and predicted its necessity on vague grounds, Grotius deduced it logically from facts only. In his eyes, therefore, such a tribunal should also be charged with the execution of judgments. That idea of Grotius's was certainly radical for his time, and the examples derived by him from the ancients gave no single precedent. One of the best-known commentators of Grotius, the learned Barblyrac, endeavored to create these precedents with examples from modern history, but in vain. Grotius mentioned only general guiding precepts; he did not speak of the "criminal State" in so many words, but from successive chapters of his learned book his opinion may easily be gathered. It is useless to try to find in Grotius a specific definition; the difficulty of deciding as to which of the parties is the punishable aggressor in an offensive war was greater for him than it is for us today. But for any one who reads Grotius purely for his ideas, independently of the time in which he lived, it is obvious that he regarded offensive warfare as an inter-



The International Peace Conference visiting Delft in 1913 to pay homage to the memory of Grotius

national crime which should be "outlawed." Like the prominent Americans, led by General Bliss, who in recent years submitted their project for a world tribunal to the League of Nations, Grotius believed that a State which begins war for other reasons than for lawful self-defense renders itself guilty of an international crime; and if a World Court had then existed, such as that which exists at present at The Hague, Grotius would have done as these modern jurists and pacifists did, i. e., approve the competency of this court to decide juridically and definitively whether this international crime

had or had not been committed. Thus the evolution of ideas sometimes amazingly leads to a goal which humanity has set itself long years before.

GREAT GENIUS DONE TARDY JUSTICE

Grotius, this great genius—great in various spheres of learning, theological as well as historical, literary as well as juridical—lived and died in exile. This fact is inscribed upon his tomb at Delft.

The ten years during which Grotius resided in Paris as Swedish Ambassador, vested with all the dignity and magnificence of the period, were far from happy years for him. Grotius was not the man to live contented in the midst of the diplomatic intriguing of those times; neither was he the man to defend himself against simultaneous attacks from three quarters, i. e., against the French, who saw in him a spy; against the Swedes of Sweden, who grudged the foreigner his position, and against the Ambassadors of the Republic of the Netherlands, who were politically his enemies. Queen Maria Christina, the learned daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, recalled him when, on attaining her majority, she ascended the throne in 1644. During his residence at Stockholm she offered him a position in the Swedish service; but Grotius was obliged to refuse it, as the Swedish climate did not suit him and his wife. On the return journey to Lübeck he suffered shipwreck in the immediate neighborhood of Danzig; in his haste to travel rapidly, as news from his wife awaited him at Lübeck, he overfatigued himself and died, solitary and forlorn, at Ros-

tock. There, in the St. Marienkirche, his mortal remains were temporarily interred. Subsequently his body was brought back to his native country and interred with great splendor, on Oct. 3, 1645, in the Nieuwe Kerk, in that typical old Dutch City of Delft, which still constantly excites the admiration of all foreigners. There, at the end of the nineteenth century, in the Market Place opposite the church, his grateful Dutch admirers erected a statue in his honor. The American delegation to the first peace conference of 1899 took the initiative as the first group of foreign admirers of Grotius to visit his tomb. Since then numerous important international societies have made pilgrimages to the spot to pay homage to the great spirit of Grotius and to his work. In the course of the year 1925, owing to the efforts of the Holland-American Foundation, a window dedicated to his memory will be unveiled in that part of the church in which his monumental tomb, work of the great Verhulst, is situated.

Posterity has for years been diligently engaged in atoning to the memory of Grotius for the wrongs done to the living man by his contemporaries. We moderns cannot but hope that the spirit of his work will be diffused throughout the entire world and will lead to the adoption of the supremely sound, intelligent views which he advocated in his monumental and prophetic work long before the significance of these views could penetrate to the minds of his fellow-men.



The Charm of Czechoslovakia

By FRED H. RINDGE JR.

Secretary of the Industrial Department of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A.

AMERICANS have good reason to be interested in a country whose Declaration of Independence was signed in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, and whose form of government and national ideals are so similar to their own. The people of Czechoslovakia were always independent in spirit and purpose, so that the creation of this new State was only the logical result of its previous history. As far back as the tenth and eleventh centuries, tribes of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia were united in a State. The Magyars conquered Slovakia, but the Czech State continued to advance, until by the fourteenth century it had become the most important country in Central Europe. In the year our Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, the Czechs were defeated by the Habsburgs, but they were never wholly conquered. Through all the years they persisted in their demands for political justice, and, as a result, fared better than their less fiery brothers, the Slovaks.

The United States recognized the new and independent State of Czechoslovakia on Sept. 3, 1918, and a few weeks later, on Oct. 26, Thomas G. Mazaryk sat in Washington's chair in Independence Hall and signed his country's Declaration of Independence. Thus came into existence a new republic, as large as England and larger than present Austria, Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Denmark or Switzerland. It comprises an area of over 56,300 square miles, divided into five parts: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia. It is 600 miles long and about 120 miles broad in its widest part. The present population numbers approximately 14,000,000, with many more Czechs and Slovaks scattered

through Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and other parts of Europe and North America. The country has a sound economic basis. Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia contain the great industries, while Slovakia and Ruthenia are almost entirely agricultural. But fertile lands and great forests are almost everywhere. Over 40 per cent. of the total population is engaged in agriculture, about the same proportion as in France. During and immediately after the war the land suffered from lack of labor, fertilizers and machinery, but production improved remarkably. In some parts of the country women perform much of the hard work. I have observed a long line of peasant women laboring in the fields under a foreman whose main occupation seemed to be to discourage idling and to swing his cane nonchalantly. I have even seen a husband tying a huge bundle of wood on his wife's back, while he carried nothing! But that is common in Europe.

Many of the old landed estates of Czechoslovakia that belonged to the German and Austrian nobles were parceled out to ex-soldiers and others in small holdings, thereby increasing the opportunity for a livelihood for many people, and tending to reduce emigration. But the race problem was also intensified, for the German and Hungarian minorities have none too much love for the new Government, the more so as some of them once owned the land that was parceled out.

The great industries are materially assisted by the natural resources of the country—coal, iron, lead, tin, antimony, sulphur, salt, silver, gold and other metals. The agricultural industries and the porcelain, glassmaking and timber industries are very important, and derive



Street scene in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia

most of their raw material from within the country. This is partially true also of the iron, steel, chemical, leather and many metal industries. The textile industry is of great importance, even though its raw materials must be imported. As far as exports are concerned there are only five other countries which exceed Czechoslovakia. Incidentally, she is the only exporter of sugar in Europe and the world's second largest beet sugar producer. Her forests are four times as extensive as England's. I shall never forget those beautiful forests, with an occasional glimpse of some medieval castle high on a hill between the trees.

The Social Democratic labor unions are very powerful and boast over a million members; the Socialist group has nearly half as many and the others swell the total membership to well over 1,800,000. The cooperatives have also made giant strides in recent years. The attitude of the labor unions is, on the whole, loyal to the Government, and especially to President Masaryk personally. In regard to politics, they are sharply divided, but trade and nationality divisions are not so intense. The various unions come together occasion-

ally to agree on some things, but never on politics. On the whole, social conditions in Czechoslovakia are fairly good. Women enjoy the same social and political rights as men. The Government has passed much social legislation, and such measures are stimulated by the Ministry for Social Welfare. A central body has been organized for the investigation of factories. There is considerable unemployment in the country, but the situation is improving. The present number out of work is probably less than 300,000. The eight-hour working day is enforced. There are laws protecting women and children, and insurance provisions against illness and accidents. There is, of course, a shortage of homes, as in other countries. The Government has requisitioned all unused dwellings, and has encouraged building enterprises by special funds. Education is compulsory for all children from 6 to 14 years. There are large numbers of Czech, Slovak, German, Magyar and Ruthenian elementary schools and an increasing number of special schools, agricultural and technical schools and colleges. During the days of Magyar domination the Slovak language was prohib-

ited in the schools of Slovakia, with the result that parents refused to send their children, and illiteracy grew alarmingly. This condition is now being rapidly improved. The illiteracy among the Czechs is less than 1 per cent., one of the lowest rates in the world. It is highest in some parts of Ruthenia.

Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, is noted for its culture, beauty and refinement. It is altogether one of the most fascinating cities in all Europe. The majestic Hradcany Castle, on the hill, the beautiful bridges spanning the winding river, the old powder tower, the artistic City Hall, with its famous clock, the broad avenues and narrow side streets, the irresistible shops, the gorgeous operas and theatres, the gay costumes all contribute to making one quite content to remain absent from America a little longer. Like most Europeans, the people are very fond of café life. It is said that more business is done over a glass of beer or cup of coffee in an outdoor café than anywhere else. Whether this is true or not, one finds in the café sociability and democracy. In Slovakia theatrical amusement is at a low ebb. There are but two regular theatres in the whole country, at Kosice

and Bratislava. Prague, on the other hand, abounds in theatres and the best of opera. In some parts of Slovakia a young man dares not enter a girl friend's home for fear he will be considered engaged. Yet in the cities there is a freedom between the sexes which is quite wholesome. It is quite customary in many towns for people to promenade on the square or some special street, often from 12 to 1 o'clock, and from 6 to 7 or 8, each day. The younger generation, however, is better satisfied with vigorous games and athletics.

By the Constitutional Charter "liberty of conscience and religious creed is guaranteed" and "all religious confessions shall be equal in the eye of the law." "In so far as citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic are entitled by the common law to establish, manage and administer, at their own cost, philanthropic, religious or social institutions, they are all equal, no matter what their nationality, language, religion or race, and they may, in such institutions, make use of their own language and worship according to their own religious ceremonies." Thus complete religious freedom is guaranteed by the State. The majority of the population, about 85 per cent., is



Thatched cottages in a Czechoslovak village

Roman Catholic, and in Slovakia it is almost solidly Catholic. Approximately 7 per cent. of the population is Protestant and 5 per cent. Greek Catholic, and the rest Free Thinkers, Jews and miscellaneous groups. The national Church, divorced from Rome, has made great strides in the past few years.

One is always aware that a village is not far away when spires come into sight. The Sunday costumes of the Slovaks going to church are wonderful, hand-embroidered dresses and suits which defy description. Pilgrimages are often made. The images of a patron saint are carried to some country shrine, and there worshipped by thousands of the devout, who have walked many miles. Nor can one ever forget the beautiful Slovak country—the fields of waving grain, the picturesque straw-thatched cottages—white, blue, tan and green. Sometimes a stork may be seen standing in its nest on a roof, which means no fire in the house, for the stork brings good luck, and no peasant would think of driving him away. So the cooking is done outdoors and the family prays that the stork may return next year. There are other picturesque glimpses as the traveler speeds on his way. Women, boys and girls plodding along the road in their bare feet, with huge bundles of hay, fodder or wood on their backs; hand-woven linen drying in the sun, often sprinkled to facilitate the bleaching process; women washing clothes in the near-by stream and pounding out the dirt with smooth rocks or wooden paddles; groups of joyous children trooping home from school; girls of 10 carrying baby brothers in their shawls, papoose fashion, on their backs or on one side, as the village fashion demands; girls looking like little old women in their long dresses, chasing geese out of harm's way—these and many more sights and scenes should inspire any artist or poet.

Mud bricks, dried in the sun, are used in building many of the houses in Slovakia. In more modern villages there are roofs of red tile, slate and, more rarely, of tin. The old wells are always

picturesque, and some of the wooden fences are amazing in their interweaving of small twigs, which form a wicker quite impregnable. The people keep their homes very clean and tidy. The furniture is generally old and simple; the bed is covered by a huge down quilt, the shrine is in the corner; the hand loom is near, and the new kitten is under your feet. Other homes are greatly overcrowded—several families in one house or in a special suite over the barn. Sometimes the pig and several chickens share the same quarters. Every one is interested in a new house. When the foundations are completed the workmen have a celebration; when the frame is up they nail a spruce tree to the rafters and enjoy another celebration, and when it is completed there is real enthusiasm.

No one has seen Slovakia until one has observed it on Sunday. The gorgeous, hand-embroidered costumes of many colors cannot be described. The women wear exquisite shawls over their heads, or gay headdress with bells or flowers; full blouses—perhaps with balloon sleeves—bodices of bright colors, sometimes buttoned in front and usually gored in the back; bright pleated skirts with aprons; four heavy petticoats, and white wool stockings with black leather boots. The men often wear white felt trousers, beautifully embroidered on the front or sides; white embroidered shirt, with narrow or very wide, loose sleeves; fancy vest of cloth or leather; a gay, wide belt or sash; dark coat, sometimes embroidered; boots or shoes; round black cap, with a gay band and the inevitable feather or flower.

The people of this highly favored and charming country are proving themselves eminently able to govern themselves and to set a pace for the rest of Central and Southeastern Europe in politics, education, culture, religion, social life, athletics, industry, agriculture and thrift. The new republic is not without its racial and economic problems, but if future Government officials prove as wise as Masaryk and Benès, and if the country continues to hold together as a political entity, it has a great future.

The Einstein Theory in the Light of New Tests

By WATSON DAVIS
Managing Editor, Science Service

DID the Einstein theory of relativity receive a death blow at the National Academy of Sciences meeting at Washington at the end of April? This question is raised by the paper of Professor Dayton C. Miller of the Case School for Applied Science, Cleveland, who has shown by a much refined and improved repetition of the Michelson-Morley experiment that there is a definite and measurable motion of the earth through the ether. When Michelson and Morley made their famous test in the basement of Case School in 1887 they got no evidence of relative motion between the ether and the motion of the earth in its orbit, although they did not prove it absolutely zero. Upon this negative result Einstein in 1905 founded his revolutionary theory of relativity.

Professor Miller set up his apparatus both in the Cleveland basement and on the top of Mount Wilson, Cal. On the high mountain peak he found a positive displacement of the lines in the interferometer, varying with the direction the instrument points, and with the time of day and year agreeing with the three known motions of the earth in space, its daily rotation, its annual revolution around the sun, and its secular movement with the sun. The general result of his 5,000 observations gives a motion of the earth relative to the ether of six miles a second, or about one-third of the orbital velocity of the earth. This would indicate that the ether was partially dragged along with the earth, less on the mountain top than underground. How then does this affect the Einstein theory? Dr. Ludwik Silberstein of the Kodak Laboratories, Rochester, and author of the standard

work on "The Theory of Relativity," stated his conclusion after Professor Miller's paper was read in the following words:

At first glance Professor Miller's definite result is entirely antagonistic to the Einstein relativity theory, which in fact could not be adapted to these results of Professor Miller by any conceivable modifications, unless the very fundamental principles of Einstein's theory were given up. This, however, is as much as to say that Professor Miller's results knock out the relativity theory radically. From the point of view of an ether theory, this set of results, as well as all others previously discovered, are easily explicable by means of the Stokes ether concept, as modified by Planck and Lorentz. Without entering into the mathematical details associated with this statement we may say only that Professor Miller's results as obtained in Cleveland and Mount Wilson are given immediately by the main property of such an ether, namely, to adhere almost completely to the surface of the earth, and therefore share almost entirely its translational motion over its surface and to have a gradually increasing velocity relative to it when we go higher and higher up.

At the National Academy sessions another test of the relation of matter to the ether of space was reported. These were experiments of Professor A. A. Michelson and H. G. Gale of the University of Chicago, made to carry out an idea of Michelson's, first suggested in 1904 and later urged by Dr. Silberstein. Suppose there were a large steel pipe running around the world on an east and west line and mirrors so arranged in it that they would reflect a ray of light all the way round. Then send one ray east and the other west and match them up when they come back from their circuit of the earth to see if one took longer than the other. Now, if the

earth does not revolve, of course, the ray going east will get back in just the same time as the ray going west. But if the earth is moving from west to east the ray running east will take longer to return to the starting point than the ray running west, because that point has moved eastward in the meantime.

A large area of the earth's surface at Clearing, Ill., near Chicago, was enclosed by a rectangle of airtight water pipe a foot in diameter for the experiment. The pipes were laid level underground and the air was exhausted by means of a pump to about a fiftieth of an atmosphere so as to avoid interference with vision due to air currents. The light from a slit in front of an arc lamp at one corner was directed against a glass plate coated with a thin film of gold and set at an angle so that half the ray of light passed through it and so straight ahead along the pipe, while the other half was reflected at right angles and so sent around the rectangle in the opposite direction. At each of the other three corners a mirror was placed in the pipes so as to reflect the rays along the next side of the rectangle. The two rays, having traveled more than a mile by opposite routes, were matched to see whether their waves coincided or whether one had fallen behind the other owing to the earth's rotation. A shorter circuit was used to establish the zero point. The fringes, or alternate dark and bright lines, due to interference of waves were viewed through a seven-foot telescope and measured with a micrometer.

Two hundred determinations were made on various days and by different observers, and the average gives a displacement of the interferometer fringes, due to the earth's rotation, of about one-quarter of a fringe. The exact figure found in the experiments is 0.23, while the figures calculated in accordance with Einstein's theory is 0.24. This is a remarkably close agreement, considering the difficulty of such an experiment, and proves that the ether is not appreciably dragged along with the earth

in its rotation. If the observations had shown no displacement of the fringes, the experiment would have been contrary to the special relativity theory of Einstein, but the results obtained may also be interpreted in harmony with the older theory of a stagnant ether, so are not decisive between them. Professor Silberstein explained the results of this experiment as follows: "The full effect associated with the spinning motion of the earth can be accounted for by making the natural assumption that our globe, being almost perfectly spherical and having a purely gravitational grip upon the ether, does not appreciably drag it in its rotatory motion."

SUPPORT FOR THE THEORY

Yet there was support offered to the Einstein theory at the National Academy of Sciences meeting when Dr. George E. Hale, honorary director of Mount Wilson Observatory read a telegram from Dr. W. S. Adams of that observatory. Last year Professor A. S. Eddington of Cambridge advanced the startling theory that the stars behaved like perfect gases even when they were denser than lead. This is because at such tremendously high temperatures in the interior of stars the atoms are broken up into fragments of positive and negative electrons which can pack closer than the entire atoms. The heaviest element on earth is the metal osmium which has a density of about twenty-two times that of water. But one of the stars, the invisible companion of the familiar Dog Star, Sirius, though too small to be seen, is yet so heavy that its density figures out 50,000 times that of water. Einstein predicted that light coming from a heavy star would be so retarded by gravitation that the wave length would be increased. This would shift the spectral lines toward the red end. Last year Dr. St. John of Mount Wilson verified this in regard to sunlight, and now Dr. Adams finds the same effect in a star. The displacement observed agrees with that calculated from the theories of Einstein and Eddington.

Other Scientific Developments

NEW WEATHER FORECASTING METHODS

DISCOVERY of intimate relations between the heat of the sun and the weather that promise to "revolutionize the art of weather forecasting" were announced to the National Academy of Sciences by H. H. Clayton of Canton, Mass., and Dr. C. G. Abbot of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. The new predicting methods are the result of researches on the variations in solar radiation, carried on by Dr. Abbot for many years in two desert stations, one in Arizona and the other in northern Chile. Mr. Clayton, who was formerly in charge of the forecasting department of the Argentine Weather Service, has tested his method in the southern republic. He says:

It was found that with every class of variation of solar radiation, whether of a few days', a few months', or many years' duration, as in the sunspot period, the normal areas of high and low pressure in the earth's atmosphere swing north and south in unison with the changes in solar radiation and thus determine excesses or defects of temperature and rainfall which swing north and south with the pressure, the effects increasing in intensity with increasing latitude. In the northern United States and Canada these changes may amount to as much as 40 degrees Fahrenheit with a departure of only one per cent. of solar radiation on either side of the normal, and the rainfall may change from double the normal amount to less than half normal, which if long continued becomes a severe drought. In Winter the excess of pressure is over the continents and in Summer over the oceans.

It was already known from Dr. Abbot's work that the amount of heat radiation from the sun varies with the number of sunspots in the eleven-year sunspot period, being greatest at maximum sunspots. Further research discloses that the day to day variations of solar radiation are closely related to the position of sunspots and faculae on the face of the sun as seen from the earth. When the spots and faculae are on the central meridian of the sun, there is a diminution of solar radiation, probably resulting from absorption, and an increase above normal when the spots and faculae are on the edges of the sun. The side of the sun on which the spot is located averages cooler than the opposite side, and there appear to be periodic oscillations of

about three and a half, seven and fourteen days, which are in some way related to solar conditions.

When the meteorological data in the United States are compared with the pressure and temperature in the United States, the same relations are found as would be expected from the correlated changes in solar radiation. The passage of spots across the central meridian of the sun is immediately followed by low pressure at central continental stations like Winnipeg, and higher pressure is found at the same stations on the average when the spots and faculae are on the eastern and western limbs of the sun.

The relation to the temperature is opposite to that of the pressure. When studied separately for the four seasons, Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn, similar relations to the position of the spots and faculae are found for each season, but the effect is delayed about one day in Spring and Autumn, and two days in Summer, as compared with Winter. The high correlation of the separate independent relations with each other is a further proof of the reality of the relations.

It is thus evident by several different lines of research that there is an intimate relation between solar changes and weather, and the results promise to revolutionize the art of weather forecasting. Already the Argentine Weather Service is practically applying the observations of solar radiation and visual observations of the sun to forecasting, and has established a solar observatory for independent research. That other national weather services will follow in the near future is certain.

WOMAN SCIENTIST HONORED

For the first time in its history the National Academy of Sciences, the leading scientific body of the United States, elected a woman to its membership. She is Dr. Florence Rena Sabin, anatomist and Professor of Histology at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, Baltimore. Blood is the subject of Miss Sabin's researches that have brought her this high honor. Instead of studying cells of the blood after they have been killed, she has succeeded in keeping blood alive outside the body for three to four hours and determining its reactions in this way. She has been particularly interested in the problem of tuberculosis, and many of her re-

searches are leading to a better understanding of this disease.

The inventor of the X-ray tube now in common use, Dr. William David Coolidge, physicist, General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y., was also among the twelve new members elected. The others were Dr. Reginald A. Daly, geologist, Harvard University; Dr. Edward M. East, botanist at Harvard and author of "Mankind at the Crossroads"; Dr. Charles A. Kraus, chemist, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.; Dr. Solomon Lefschetz, mathematician at Kansas State University; Ralph Modjeska, engineer, Chicago; Dr. William Bowers Pillsbury, psychologist at University of Michigan; Dr. Frederick A. Saunders, Harvard University, physicist; Dr. James P. Smith, geologist, Stanford University; Elmer Ambrose Sperry, engineer and inventor of the Sperry gyroscope and searchlight, Brooklyn; Dr. Harry Gideon Wells, pathologist, University of Chicago. The six foreign associates elected were Neils Bohr, Danish physicist and formulator of atomic theories, and Professor A. S. Eddington of Cambridge, astronomer and interpreter of the Einstein theory; Professor Adolph Engler, Berlin botanist; Sir Charles Algernon Parsons, inventor of the steam turbine; Charles Prosper Eugene Schneider, French engineer, and Professor Hans Spemann, German zoologist.

INTERIOR OF THE EARTH

Mountains floating on a sea of dense liquid glass, continents migrating over the face of the earth and volcanoes being formed by landslides of the earth's crust. Such was the new picture of earth and mountain building presented to the American Philosophical Society at its annual meeting in April by Professor Reginald A. Daly of Harvard University. It was once thought that the earth was a molten ball of fiery material with only a very thin crust between man and realistic hellfire. That idea has been abandoned because astronomers and physicists have discovered that the earth is actually more

rigid and heavy than steel. But the geologist is returning to the idea of liquids within the interior of the earth. Thirty to sixty miles deep, Dr. Daly believes, is a layer of liquid glass, under great pressure, so rigid that if it could be seen it would look like rock, and yet it is so mobile that the very continents float and slide upon it. Both mountains and volcanoes owe their origin to landslides of great blocks of the earth's crust riding on this great subterranean sea of glass. The crumpling on the down side of a great slide caused mountains to rise, and allowed great outflowings of the lava and gave birth to volcanoes. North America in migrating slightly westward in ancient times caused the Rockies with their Mt. Shasta and Mt. Ranier to form, while the Alps, with the southern European volcanoes, were created when Europe decided to move closer to Africa by about 200 miles.

A great juggler of atoms and electrons, Dr. Robert Andrews Millikan, Nobel Prize winner and director of the Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics at Pasadena, Cal., announced that important laws in X-rays can now be applied to the kind of light that is visible to the human eye. By treating certain metals and gases to intense bombardment with 2,000 to 3,000 ampere sparks at 40,000 volts, Dr. Millikan can easily strip atoms of their planetary electrons that circle about the central nucleus. Within that miniature atomic solar system, an earth is suddenly flung off into space with an immense force. When an atom has lost an electron in this way, Dr. Millikan has found that it flies a flag, as it were, by arranging its spectral lines in a definite and unmistakable manner. It will be possible to tell just how many electrons have been lost by atoms in the stars as a result of Dr. Millikan's work.

FASTIDIOUS ELEPHANTS

The great family of proboscidea, in which the modern elephant, his ancestors and his kin belong, was declared by Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, Presi-

dent of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, to rival man in its migrations and adaptations. Fastidiousness about food leads the elephants to choose the same general locations selected by man and the horse for their habitat, he said, in pointing out that, although the elephant roamed America thousands of years ago, his original home was in Africa.

A hundred million years ago, many millions of years before man himself appeared on the earth, there grew a forest near what is now Gilboa, N. Y. Dr. John M. Clarke, New York State geologist and paleontologist, at the meeting, pronounced this grove the oldest known forest. He has resurrected it from the remains in the rocks, and he finds these ancient trees to have been much like modern tree ferns, probably attaining heights of fifty feet or more.

The adventures of Ulysses in the Odyssey are in reality the stories of ancient mariners, the same stories that

appear in Babylonian tablets with the famous Nimrod as hero, the philosophers were told by Dr. Paul Haupt of Johns Hopkins University. Clay tablets recently found in the land of the ancient Hittites, about 100 miles east of the new Turkish capital, Angora, have revealed new fragments written 1,300 years before Christ, while others previously discovered date back 700 years earlier. Professor Haupt does not assume that the Greek poets whose combined efforts are known to us as the work of Homer were necessarily familiar with the Babylonian work. "Both may be based on the tales of adventurers who sailed from Gibraltar to the North Sea and the Black Sea, as well as Crete and Egypt, over 3,000 years before Christ," he said. "The exaggerations may be due to the mariners, but their tales lost nothing in their travels. The adventures were not experienced by one individual, for the poets combined the stories so that they clustered around one central figure."

Curing Disease by Sunlight

By JAMES A. TOBEY

Secretary National Health Council

ALTHOUGH the beneficial effects of sunlight have been recognized by mankind since time immemorial, it is only within comparatively recent years that the sun has been scientifically used as a therapeutic agent. Today it has been definitely proved that the sun's rays will cure tuberculosis and rickets and are efficacious in the treatment of other diseases. At Leysin, Switzerland, Dr. A. Rollier, who has been called the high priest of modern sun worship, is caring for about a thousand patients, mostly afflicted with various forms of bone tuberculosis. His method is to expose the patient, entirely nude except for a loin cloth, to the rays of the sun for from three to six hours daily. A rich pigmentation of the skin soon results after a gradual exposure during the early part of the

treatment, and in some manner not yet absolutely determined, the blood stream is enriched and strength and vitality improved. The length of time required to effect complete cure varies according to the severity of the disease and ranges from several months to several years. The sun cure is likewise used to some extent for pulmonary tuberculosis, or consumption, and with considerable success.

Heliotherapy is not confined in its practice to Leysin, but is also carried on at other localities on the Continent and in this country, notably at Perrysburg, N. Y. Experiments on the action of sunlight on rickets, a children's disease of the bones, due chiefly to malnutrition, have been conducted by Dr. A. F. Hess at Columbia University. He has demonstrated that it is the light

and not the heat which exercises the potent effect.

The use of the sun as a healing agent seems first to have been developed in a scientific way by a young Danish physician, Dr. Niels R. Finsen, who was later awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine. His original heliotherapy researches were undertaken toward the end of the nineteenth century. Then Dr. Rollier opened the first sunlight clinic in 1903 and seven years later estab-

lished his school in the sun at Leysin in the Alps. Today heliotherapy is widespread and has successfully supplanted the knife in many instances. It has not yet, however, attained the greatest field of usefulness, but is gradually coming into a well-merited vogue. The ancient Greeks, in the midst of that splendid civilization of a bygone era, constructed their temples to the sun, and the ancient Greeks may have been less pagan and more scientific than we are sometimes prone to think.

Armies and Navies of the World

UNITED STATES

A MOCK battle to determine the vulnerability of the Hawaiian Islands as the centre of the Pacific defenses of the United States took place off Honolulu on April 27, a marine expeditionary force from San Francisco taking the rôle of invader and the Hawaiian reserves assuming the defensive. The "battle," which lasted scarcely twelve hours, resulted in a sweeping defeat for the "Black," or defending forces. The "Blue," or invading contingent, attacked the Island of Oahu, a point of strategic importance to Honolulu and the site of the Pearl Harbor naval base. The defense force of 11,000 "Blacks" was routed by the 2,200 "Blues," who, however, suffered 50 per cent. casualties. When the umpires terminated the "battle" it was found that the invaders had outguessed the defenders in military technique, had found a ready landing and held shore positions which gave them command of the situation. Official spectators declared that the test had proved that the Hawaiian Islands could easily be captured by an enemy provided the latter was willing to suffer heavy losses

in the first attack. The manoeuvres were witnessed by Japanese observers, who, aboard a Japanese naval tanker, had followed the "Blue" fleet across the Pacific from San Francisco.

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur, in a statement issued on April 28 explaining the purposes of the war games, said:

While lessons of the utmost value to the country's defense will be learned from the joint manoeuvres in Hawaiian waters, the outcome of any particular phase in itself is not the primary object for holding the manoeuvres. The welding of the fleet into a homogeneous unit, the training of personnel, afloat and ashore, under conditions to be met with in actual warfare, and the severe tests to which material is put are made possible only under these conditions in peace time. Such exercises simulating the severe conditions of war serve to disclose any weakness or deficiencies in the units of the fleet or in the defenses on shore.

The fact must not be lost sight of that only to a certain degree can war conditions be simulated, and, while the actual operations are the best practical demonstration of what can be done with all the different available units of the American Navy, the whole manoeuvres are basically theoretical.

The month was one of considerable activity with respect to the nation's

aerial defenses. Secretary of War Weeks was reported on April 25 to have approved plans for the purchase of 260 airplanes, including 148 training planes of the most modern type; 52 pursuit planes, 50 bombing and 10 attack planes. It also was stated that a fund of \$500,000 had been allotted by the Secretary of War for improvement of stations, hangars and gas plants.

JAPAN

THE Japanese Navy Department on April 5 announced that twenty-two Japanese warships, with a gross tonnage of 124,900, were under construction and were being built in accordance with the terms of the Washington Treaty. Hector Bywater, writing in The London Daily News, accused Japan of forcing other signatories of the Washington Treaty into a naval race. The Japanese Navy Department on April 27 issued a detailed statement, dismissing Mr. Bywater's charges as "sensational," and asserting that Japan's naval strength was inferior to that of the United States both in respect to American coast defenses and even in the zone of the Japanese coast. The statement concluded with the following table showing the relative strength of Great Britain, the United States and Japan on Jan. 1, 1925, the cruisers listed being less than seventeen years old, the submarines and destroyers less than twelve years old:

ALREADY BUILT

Japan, 95 cruisers and destroyers, together being 166,373 tons; 44 submarines, 34,084 tons.

America, 304 cruisers and destroyers, 470,561 tons; 188 submarines, 77,349 tons.

England, 253 cruisers and destroyers, 476,695 tons; 65 submarines, 57,058 tons.

UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Japan, 21 cruisers and destroyers, 82,365 tons; 14 submarines, 23,895 tons.

America, no cruisers or destroyers; 9 submarines, 11,928 tons.

England, 6 cruisers, 51,850 tons; 3 submarines, 3,260 tons.

APPROVED BUT NOT STARTED

Japan, cruisers and destroyers, 35,895 tons; 14 submarines, 17,755 tons.

America, 20 cruisers and destroyers, 98,000 tons; 6 submarines, 10,820 tons—one, tonnage unknown.

England, 7 cruisers and destroyers, 50,000 tons—one, tonnage unknown; 6 submarines, tonnage unknown.

TOTAL

Japan, 129 cruisers and destroyers, 284,638 tons; 72 submarines, 75,734 tons.

America, 324 cruisers and destroyers, 558,561 tons; 133 submarines, 100,097 tons.

England, 266 cruisers and destroyers, 578,545 tons; 74 submarines, 60,318 tons.

The new Japanese seaplane carrier Akagi, displacement 26,600 tons, was launched at the Kure Navy Yard on April 22. The Akagi was declared to have a speed of thirty-three knots and to have accommodations for fifty seaplanes.

GERMANY

IMPORTANT revelations with respect to military conditions in Germany were contained in an article in a recent issue of Die Welt am Montag, a well-known pacifist publication. This periodical stated that Germany was now spending on its army only 25 per cent. less than was expended on the Imperial German Army in 1913, and that maintenance of the army during 1925 was scheduled to cost \$28,000,000 more than during 1924. The present total cost for upkeep of the Reich soldiery was 562,000,000 gold marks, or \$140,000,000 a year. Die Welt am Montag stated further that Germany's army of 100,000 was using about the same amount of equipment as did the Imperial army of 800,000.

FRANCE

THE Chamber of Deputies on April 24 approved the French naval program as outlined in the 1925 budget estimates. The motion was passed by a vote of 422 to 29, the Communists being the only dissenters. The program provides for seventy-five new naval units to be constructed during the four years between 1925 and 1929, the total cost of these additions being 3,194,000,000 francs.

A Month's World History

Continued from Page 360

mands upon the State Department that a married woman, even where both her husband and herself are citizens of the United States, is legally entitled to a passport bearing her maiden name without his name. The argument is that a man may take out a passport without referring to his wife. So far the Department of State has declined to grant such passports.

LAW AND ORDER

A curious controversy developed in New York City, where the Republican publicity committee made up a list of 1,909 murders committed in New York City in the last seven years; Police Commissioner Enright claimed that the total was grossly exaggerated, inasmuch as there were only 1,747 murders; many of those, he added, were not real murders. He also claimed that out of 284 official murders in the year 1924 there were sixty-three convictions.

The new Superintendent of Federal Prisons, Luther C. White of Massachusetts, urged the following reforms in the Federal prisons: First, increase of accommodations (the prisons, he asserted, are now very crowded); second, the teaching of a trade to every convict wherever possible.

A drive was made on the so-called "Albany Pool." The backers of this pool, which is carried on in the vicinity of the New York State capital, are accused of conducting a lottery and also of failing to pay the prizes or awards earned according to the alleged fraudulent system. The circumstances of the alleged lottery were revealed by The Boston Herald and the case later was taken up by the authorities of Albany County under pressure from Governor Smith. The authorities reported that they were unable to obtain evidence. The method of the accused persons is to assign prizes for the luckiest guesses as to the standing of the baseball leagues as they fluctuate from day to day.

Several States passed new or additional laws for prohibition; in Indiana

a bill was passed which makes the possession of intoxicating liquor a punishable offense. Ex-President Hadley of Yale protested against the Volstead act on the ground that it would lead either to "militaristic features" in the Federal Government or else to "a change in the form of government from the present representative democracy" to "an intelligent autocracy."

The enforcement of the prohibition law was accented by the assignment of a specially equipped Coast Guard navy to "Rum Row" off the Atlantic coast; the Navy opened its campaign against the offshore liquor fleet early in May; Government vessels were placed alongside each suspected ship and instructed to follow wherever the suspected carrier might lead. It was believed that this program, if carried out completely, would put an end to the rum fleet. Another successful method of fighting the open sale of liquor was "the padlock system," which was set in action in New York City by Federal District Attorney Buckner. Whenever it is satisfactorily proved that a restaurant, hotel, drug store or other place of business has sold liquor, the establishment may be declared closed by a court order for a few months or even for a year. This method of prosecution hits both the proprietor and the owner of the building. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that if a prohibition agent orders liquor and a drink is placed before him this constitutes a sale, regardless of whether he puts down the required cash.

IMMIGRATION

At present no immigrants are received who have not on their passports the visa of an American consul; but that is based on general information and does not include either physical or mental examination. The Department of Labor desires a system of examination (subject to review examination on arrival), which might sift out undesirables. Inasmuch as a formal examination abroad

might lead to a network of treaties establishing the authority of our consuls on foreign soil, the desired goal cannot be reached at once.

Official immigration statistics made public on April 22 showed that Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, the Scandinavian countries, France, Russia and Switzerland, whose quotas together make up most of the total, would nearly or quite fill their quotas during the present year. The Grand Lodge of B'nai B'rith and some other organizations protested against the present immigration law on the ground that "it discriminates between races and between localities, origin and residents." W. W. Husband, Commissioner General of Immigration, called attention to the process known as "bootlegging of aliens." He said that 15,000 Europeans were

now waiting in Cuba for a chance to enter the United States in violation of our law and that the regular tariff for bringing in the Chinese is \$700.

MILITARY AND NAVAL

The important question before the army during the month under review was the Summer training camps. The War Department hoped to enroll 50,000 men, many of whom had the advantage of previous camps. Young men from 17 to 24 were admitted to the first or basic camp, receiving transportation, uniforms, living and medical care and facilities for recreation.

Interest in naval affairs centred on the case against the commander and five other officers of the navy transport Beaufort; these officers are accused of freely using liquor on a voyage and also of attempting to bring intoxicants into the United States.

The United States: Social and Economic Developments

By DAVIS R. DEWEY

Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

NATIONAL taxation and banking operations constitute an important part of the nation's multifarious and complex life. Notwithstanding the reduction in income taxes and the abolition of certain nuisance taxes, federal revenues, though somewhat less than for corresponding periods last year, were officially reported to be above the estimates of the Treasury. It was believed that the surplus at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, would be in excess of \$100,000,000, as compared with an earlier estimate of \$68,000,000. This was interpreted as assurance that there might be a tax reduction next Winter; the prospects in this regard grew yet brighter when, on May 6, it was reported that President Coolidge planned

an early reduction of \$300,000,000 in the Federal Budget.

The execution of the flexible and "anti-dumping" provisions of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff law met with new obstacles on account of the unwillingness of foreign manufacturers to give information to American customs agents on costs of production in their home plants, though it is only upon such information that differences between domestic and foreign cost may be measured. Under the present law the foreign manufacturer may be barred from importing to this country if he does not disclose the information desired. The Governments of Switzerland, Great Britain, France and Sweden have protested against the activity of our Treas-

ury agents and the difficulty appears to be aggravated by foreign resentment over a recent law granting diplomatic status to Treasury agents. For the sixth time advantage of the flexible clause of the tariff act has been taken by executive authority in advancing the duty on potassium chlorate from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound.

The Supreme Court again curbed the taxing power of States by declaring unconstitutional the Massachusetts excise tax upon foreign corporations engaged in interstate business. North Carolina joined the increasing number of States which have adopted the budget system.

Banking interests, late in April, agreed to assist Great Britain in her efforts to protect the pound sterling at parity by providing a credit fund of \$300,000,000. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York provided \$200,000,000 and J. P. Morgan & Co., \$100,000,000. This in the largest banking credit ever established for the benefit of a foreign nation in peace times. It is not expected that the fund will necessarily be withdrawn by Great Britain, but its establishment will discourage speculative operations to depress the foreign exchange rate. The final settlement in the sale of the Dodge Brothers automobile property was consummated on May 1 by the tender of a check for \$146,000,000, the largest check ever drawn in a commercial deal.

BUSINESS

The Government gave indications of extending its interest in the conservation of national resources. The Federal Oil Conservation Board was reported to be endeavoring to develop a national policy, and Secretary Hoover, on April 29, invited the Governors of the Eastern Coastal States to a conference to consider fish conservation on the Atlantic Coast.

Arguments were made before Secretary Jardine of the Department of Agriculture, in April, in regard to the legality of the merger of Morris & Co. with Armour & Co. The packers and stockyards act forbids monopoly of the meat

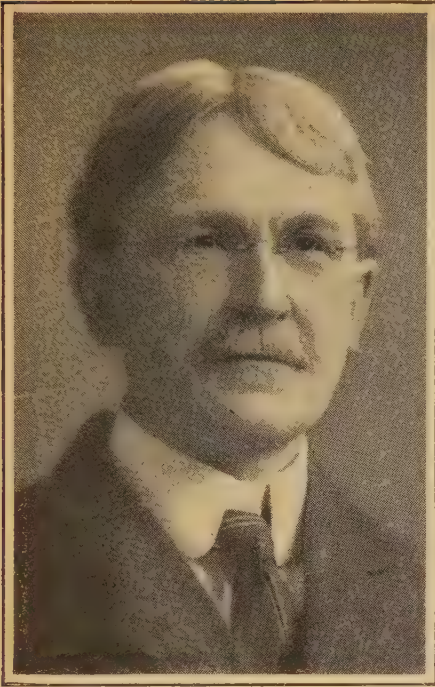
products, but counsel for the above firms argued that it would be impossible to suppress competition, because of the existence of hundreds of other packers. It was declared that the merger created a saving of \$9,000,000 annually.

Financial operations connected with the war continued to be a question of litigation. The Shipping Board brought suit on April 17 against the Bethlehem Steel interests to recover \$11,000,000 alleged to be due as the result of overpayment on war contracts. This suit involved Charles M. Schwab, who was charged, as head of the Fleet Corporation, with failing to keep the profits of his own companies down to the cost-plus basis that was demanded of other shipbuilding companies. At the same time the Bethlehem Ship Building Corporation brought a countersuit to recover, from the Fleet Corporation, \$9,000,000 said to be still due on ship construction during the war.

The Federal District Court of New York, on April 22, held that the Consolidated Gas Company of New York was entitled to a return of 8 per cent. on the value of its properties, and that present value and not cost should be the basis of valuation. The enforcement of the proposed \$1.00 rate for gas was therefore declared confiscatory.

Massachusetts joined the States of New York and New Jersey in providing for commercial arbitration. It was stated that decisions of the arbitration tribunal would be binding, if the parties in dispute agree to accept arbitration in place of the usual court trial. Wisconsin, the home of experimental legislation, adopted a regulation, effective May 4, compelling all gasoline dealers to display publicly a complete list of their prices; it was believed that through this publicity fair prices would be established. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in a decision handed down at Cincinnati on April 9 held that broadcasting by radio of a copyrighted musical composition was an infringement of the copyright act.

The Supreme Court of the United



DAVIS R. DEWEY

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States again decided on April 13 against the Kansas Industrial Court. Two years ago the Supreme Court decided that the fixing of wages by a packing company was beyond the power of the Kansas court; the decree of the Industrial Court as to wages was consequently modified but was later again objected to on the ground that the rules in regard to working hours imposed conditions which infringe upon the liberty of contract and property rights guaranteed by the due-process-of-law clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The new decision was accepted as a final declaration against the power of States to provide for compulsory arbitration, either in the fixing of wages or conditions of labor.

The Supreme Court also on April 13 rendered a decision upholding the open shop in San Francisco. Owing to a long series of labor restrictions culminating in a strike of the building trades in

1921, the Builders Exchange, representing employers, adopted a rule whereby all the members of the Exchange refused to sell to building contractors who maintained closed shops. Permits to buy supplies were granted only to those who could prove that they operated on an open-shop basis. The advocates of the closed shop, however, claimed that this restriction was a violation of the freedom of interstate commerce. The Supreme Court denied this contention; the decision justifying the permit system was regarded as a victory for the open shop.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Plans for consolidation of railroads in accordance with the intent of the Transportation act have been slowly coming to light. The Norfolk and Western Railway made manifest a wish to lease the Virginian, the road made famous some twenty years ago as the "toy" of Henry H. Rogers. As the Pennsylvania owns about a third of the common stock of the Norfolk and Western, and thus may come into control of the Virginian, the proposed lease was regarded as a forerunner of the struggle soon to take place between the foremost trunk lines of the East. The Delaware and Hudson Railroad on May 1 leased the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railroad, thus coming into conflict with the New York Central. This lease indicated the formation of a fifth great Eastern railway system. The effort to complete the Nickel Plate system was being delayed by prolonged hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission, where unexpected opposition developed.

With the signing of the contract to sell five vessels to the Dollar Line for operation in the Pacific, the Shipping Board began seeking new methods to stimulate purchase of Government vessels. Chairman O'Connor on April 29 announced that he would urge Congress to grant a bonus of \$20 a month for each American in the crew aboard an American ship engaged in foreign trade. This plan provides for a mer-

chant marine reserve of 15,000 men available for service in the case of war. The cost would ultimately amount to \$6,000,000 annually. This proposal was interpreted as an effort to revive public opinion in support of a subsidy bill.

Henry Ford on April 13 began the operation of an air-freight line between his plants in Dearborn, Mich., and Chicago. Metal airplanes capable of carrying one thousand pounds of freight each are used. Round trips will be made every other day.

The City of Chicago on April 7 voted by a majority of over 100,000 against the public purchase of the city's street railways and elevated lines.

POPULATION CHANGES

According to an estimate made public on April 20 by the National Bureau of Economic Research, the population of the United States on Jan. 1, 1925, was 114,311,000. The gain during the year was 1,627,000, approximately 100,000 less than the average increase during the past five years. This slowing down in the rate of increase is due to restrictive immigration. Net immigration in 1924 was 315,000; births are estimated at 2,645,000, and deaths at 1,133,000. Additional figures published by the Bureau of the Census on May 1 showed that birth rates were higher and death rates lower in 1924 than in 1923 in most of the States. Frederick A. Delano, Chairman of the regional plan of New York, stated on April 22 that the work of planning for a predicted population of 20,000,000 in the metropolitan area of New York City within the next forty years was now practically under way under the direction of experts.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, SCIENTIFIC

The contest over "Fundamentalism" was again evidenced in the removal of Dr. Charles R. Erdman by the Faculty of the Princeton Theological Seminary, from the position of student adviser, which he had held for the last eighteen years. Dr. Erdman was charged with

being too conciliatory in his attitude toward the Modernist movement in the Presbyterian Church. The American Civil Liberties Union in a survey of restrictions on teaching in schools and colleges stated on April 25 that more restrictive laws had been passed during the last six years than at any other time. The Governor of Ohio, however, on April 30, vetoed a bill to make compulsory the daily reading of the Bible in all public schools of the State; a measure introduced on the grounds that the Scriptures upheld the principles of civil and religious liberty. The bill, the introduction of which precipitated a bitter legislative fight, was declared to have been actively supported by the Ku Klux members; the veto was interpreted as a check upon bigotry.

Among the Pulitzer awards announced on April 16, for achievements during 1924, was a prize of \$1,000 to Miss Edna Ferber for "So Big," which the judges held to be the best American novel representing "the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standards of American manners and manhood." For the best book upon the history of the United States, Frederic L. Paxson was awarded \$2,000 for "A History of the American Frontier." M. A. De Wolfe Howe was awarded \$1,000 for the best American biography, "Barrett Wendell and His Letters," and Edwin Arlington Robinson \$1,000 for the best volume of verse, "The Man Who Died Twice."

The New York Academy of Science on April 30 elected to membership Miss Florence Sabin, physiologist at Johns Hopkins Medical School, the first woman to be elected as a member of the academy. Of more than local interest was the appropriation on April 30 of \$200,000 by the Legislature of New Hampshire for the purchase of Franconia Notch, in the White Mountains, including the rock profile of the Old Man of the Mountain. The notch is to be made a forest reservation and State park in memory of New Hampshire men who served the State in time of war.

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

THE most significant pronouncements of President Calles during the month under survey were those made at Jerez, Zacatecas, on April 6, at the opening of the Peasants' Convention. *El Excelsior* of April 7 summarizes the main points of the President's speech as follows: Reaffirmation of his labor and Agrarian stand as set forth in his Zacatecas speech a year ago while campaigning for the Presidency; the request that he be given time to execute the labor program which he has begun; admission that the Agrarian problem is very difficult, but that the distribution of lands to the people will be carried on rapidly, yet within the law; the assertion that no person who resorts to violence is a real Agrarian; the desire to avoid the disillusionment resulting from land grants without the means of developing the land; the encouragement and diffusion of agricultural education; the assertion that "the Government remains revolutionary but adjusts its actions to the procedure of justice." Commenting upon this speech editorially on April 8, *El Excelsior* said: "Calles has not ceased being a radical, but as the first magistrate of the country he understands that his duty is to follow the law strictly."

The recently decreed national highway tax of 3 centavos per liter on all domestic consumption of gasoline (equivalent in the United States to a tax of about 6 cents on each gallon of gasoline) went into effect in Mexico on April 1. The immediate result was to raise the price of gasoline to consumers from twenty to twenty-three centavos per liter. During April many protests were made to the Government because of this tax.

The financial condition of the Mexi-

can Government continued to improve during the month under survey. On April 1 there was a surplus of 20,000,000 pesos in the Treasury. The following day the Government paid the last of the back salaries which it has owed to Federal employes since last May. On April 28 payment was begun on the first instalment, amounting to \$500,000, of the total of \$4,000,000 that has been owing to Mexican business houses since the outbreak of the *de la Huerta* rebellion in December, 1923. The Government plans to pay the final instalment on this commercial indebtedness in August.

Official announcement was made in Mexico City early in April that, in accordance with a Presidential decree, the National Railway lines would be returned to private operation on July 1. This decree will cancel automatically the Government contract with the railways which has existed since the Government took formal possession of them on December 4, 1914. Prior to July 1 the Mexican Government is expected to place the railways on as good a physical and financial basis as when the roads were taken over by the Mexican Government. The return of the railways to private operation was a pre-inauguration promise of President Calles.

Because he does not agree that employes who have cooperative shares in his large and modern shoe factory shall join unions, Carlos B. Zetina, owner of the largest shoe factory in Mexico, will close his factory and move its machinery to Cuba. Señor Zetina, who has frequently been mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency, established the first shoe factory in Mexico and has long been regarded as one of the most

advanced Mexican capitalists in the treatment of workers.

During the month under survey Mexico's outstanding diplomatic negotiations have been with the United States. For the purpose of discussing, first, the question of additional cooperation for the suppression of illicit traffic in narcotics, liquor and tobacco, and, second, measures for the suppression of the smuggling of aliens across the international boundary in contravention of the laws of either Mexico or the United States, representatives of the two Governments were scheduled to meet in conference at El Paso, Texas, on May 15. The United States Department of State announced on April 20 the personnel of the American delegation, which includes representatives of the Departments of Treasury, State, Justice, and Labor. The Mexican delegation is composed of representatives of the Department of Foreign Relations, Interior, Finance, and Public Health, and three additional delegates. The aim of the conference is the negotiation of a treaty similar in scope to the pact negotiated a year ago by Canada and the United States.

When striking employes and company officials of the American owned electric light and power plant at Jalapa, State of Vera Cruz, failed to settle their differences, thereby depriving Vera Cruz of light and power, the Vera Cruz State Government seized the plant, and attempted to effect a settlement of the dispute. United States Ambassador Sheffield filed a formal protest with the Mexican Foreign Office on April 16 because of this seizure. The Foreign Office, in a note delivered to Ambassador Sheffield on April 30, sustained the action of the Vera Cruz State authorities on the ground that the seizure of the property was meant to be temporary and was justified because the State could not permit the suspension of the public service.

The recognition by the United States Government of the right, through inheritance, of Mrs. Pettus, an American citizen, to the property formerly owned by her sister, the late Mrs. Rosalie

Evans, a British subject, was made known to the Mexican Foreign Office by United States Ambassador Sheffield on April 4. The question of ownership of this property and the determined defense by Mrs. Evans until her murder, last August, of what she regarded as her rights, have been the source of much local and internal friction, as well as the basis for serious international complications between England and Mexico.

In mid-April the Mexican Foreign Office sent the League of Nations a formal note refusing to participate in the Conference on the Control of the Traffic in Arms which met in Geneva on May 4. Mexico's note, which was reported in Geneva dispatches of April 20 to be "sharply worded," was not made public by the League of Nations officials. It is reported that Mexico's refusal is due to alleged discriminations against Mexico made in deference to the desires of President Wilson at the time of the framing of the Covenant of the League, at which time Mexico was not invited to join.

A recent Presidential decree provides for the establishment in the near future of a Federal Bureau of Child Welfare, with branches throughout Mexico, which will promote the interests of all children irrespective of race or social condition. The bureau will be attached to the Federal Department of Education. It will compile all existing laws on child welfare, draft more effective laws for the protection of children, supervise existing child-welfare institutions and create new ones.

Honduras

FROM Managua, Nicaragua, it was reported on Feb. 3 that General Gregorio Ferrera, leader of one of the revolutions in Honduras during 1924, had renewed his revolutionary activity in Western Honduras. It was reported that Nacaone, fifty-five miles southwest of Tegucigalpa, had been captured by Ferrera and that the revolution was gathering strength. Because of the rebellion, the newly established Government of Honduras had declared martial

law by April 14. The following day Nicaraguan frontier officials, in co-operation with Honduran Government officials, detained revolutionists attempting to cross from Nicaragua into Honduras.

At the request of United States Consul Waller at La Ceiba, on the Honduran north coast, and of President Barahona, following urgent recommendations of the Governor and Commandant at La Ceiba, 165 men from the United States Cruiser Denver landed at La Ceiba on April 20 to protect foreign lives and property there. The United States naval detachment was withdrawn from La Ceiba on April 21 following the arrival there of Honduran Government armed reinforcements. The Honduran Government officially announced on April 23 that successful operations were being conducted against the groups of revolutionists in western Honduras.

Nicaragua

THE value of Nicaragua's foreign trade for 1924 totaled \$21,500,000. Of this amount \$8,500,000 represented the value of imports and \$13,000,000 represented the value of exports. There was thus a favorable trade balance for Nicaragua of \$4,500,000. The United States supplied all but \$2,000,000, or approximately three-fourths of the total Nicaraguan imports, and took all but \$5,550,000, or over one-half, of the total Nicaraguan exports.

The Nicaraguan Cabinet on April 21 approved a loan of \$5,000,000 to be used for street paving and installation of sewers in Managua and for constructing the first section of the Atlantic Coast Railway. The Nicaraguan Senate in March defeated a proposed loan of \$500,000 by the Nicaraguan Government.

Costa Rica

THE latest report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for Costa Rica shows that 41,277 pupils were enrolled in the primary schools on March 1, 1924. In the normal and secondary

schools 518 women and 678 men were enrolled. In the professional schools, including the colleges of law, pharmacy, and medicine, thirty-four women and 141 men were enrolled. A total of 2,593,318.10 colones (the colon has a value of about \$.25) was spent by the Government of Costa Rica for public education during the year 1923.

Guatemala

THE destruction by fire in mid-April of Centenary Hall, the meeting place of the National Assembly, compelled a suspension of the legislative sessions until new quarters might be found. The original draft of the Guatemalan Declaration of Independence was destroyed in the fire.

William B. Wheeler, Passenger Traffic Manager of the United Fruit Company, on his return from Guatemala to the United States on May 7, stated that he had been "strongly impressed" by the "tremendous strides" made by Guatemala during the last few years and also by the energy and enthusiasm with which that republic was pushing trade development with the United States.

Cuba

THE chief event with respect to Cuba during the month of April was the visit of President-elect Gerardo Machado y Morales to the United States. In the course of this visit statements were made by the distinguished visitor relative to his policies after he had assumed office as President of Cuba on May 20. General Machado and his party arrived in Washington on April 15, where they were officially received and entertained for three days as guests of the nation. The entertainment included a luncheon with President and Mrs. Coolidge at the White House, a dinner at the Pan-American Union given by Secretary of State and Mrs. Kellogg, and a visit to Mount Vernon. General Machado and his party arrived in New York on April 18 for a fortnight's visit.

In one of his first authorized interviews in Washington General Machado

stated as President that "every guarantee will be extended to American interests in the republic, and American residents of the Isle of Pines will always receive the most favorable treatment." He added that he would "give every possible facility" to the expansion of Cuba's commercial relations with the United States. "A stabler outlook for our principal industries and productions shows unlimited possibilities for the future of profitable business and trade between Cuba and the United States. Anything that may be done during my administration with this end in view will have my warm support." With refer-

ence to internal policies General Machado stated that his Government contemplated the carrying out of great material improvements, particularly in the building of public roads, and the payment of the interest and sinking fund of the public debt.

The United States Navy will map photographically from the air more than three hundred miles of Cuban coast line. The work will be done this Spring in cooperation with the Hydrographic Office, which for some time has been engaged in making navigation charts of the sea and land areas in the Caribbean Sea.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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THE Tacna-Arica settlement continued to attract attention throughout South America. On April 9 President Coolidge, in a note bearing the caption "The Ruling and Observation of the Arbitrator," replied to the Peruvian communication addressed to him on April 2. He stood squarely on the terms of his original award, which he declared was "final and without appeal." The President refused to accede to Peru's demands for guarantees in the conduct of the proposed plebiscite to determine the sovereignty of the two provinces. The six demands of Peru for changes in the original award were answered by reference to terms used in the original award. In closing, President Coolidge said:

In conclusion, it need hardly be said that only a desire to be of service in bringing about a settlement of a long-standing controversy between two great nations with whom the United States enjoys the most friendly relations induced the arbitrator to undertake his arduous task, and that, so far as in him lies, acting always within the well-defined limits of the terms of submission, he will leave

nothing undone which scrupulous care and attention on his part can accomplish in securing a fair election and equal justice to both parties.

The Buenos Aires Herald in commenting on this note of President Coolidge referred to the bluntness of the message as "entirely at variance with American ideals of statecraft," and expressed the opinion that "no South American republic will ever again appeal to Washington to solve its problems, fearing hard, cold logic that sees facts and takes no reckoning of any sentiment save that which can be brought into a law court." Comments in other Latin-American papers, however, commended President Coolidge for the fairness and justice of his award and for his firmness in this new note.

The two-month period stipulated in the original Tacna-Arica award for the filing by Chile and Peru of an estimate for expenses of their delegates on the Boundary Commission expired May 3. Chile submitted an estimate of \$30,000

for expenses; no estimate was received from the Peruvian Government. Under the award, authority for fixing the amounts to be deposited by the two countries for boundary determination expenses was vested in the arbitrator. The countries concerned were asked to file estimates for his guidance.

General John J. Pershing in a radio address broadcast from the Pan-American Union on April 23 predicted a development for the ten republics of South America during the next fifty years similar to that through which the United States has passed in the last half century. In the course of his remarks, which were based upon observations made during his recent trip in South America, the General said:

The people of these countries have made very great progress, considering their handicaps. Strong Governments are taking the place of racial conflict and insurrection. Normal procedure under the people's will is the rule, not the exception; loyalty to the country and its well-being prevails and not blind adherence to the self-appointed leader.

The people of these countries have a charm peculiar to themselves. They are courteous, refined, cultivated and devoted to art and literature, while we are more practical, energetic and matter of fact. They are fond of graceful expression and possess a philosophy that enables them to enjoy the human aspects of life, while our inventive genius leads us to strive for increased production and lower cost in everything we raise or manufacture.

An important convention was signed during the past month between Brazil and Uruguay in reference to measures to be taken by each of these republics in case of revolutionary disturbances in the other republic. This protocol was signed in Montevideo by Dr. J. C. Blanco for Uruguay and by Dr. J. T. Nabuco de Gouvea for Brazil. The action taken looks toward the stabilization of Government and the prevention of border difficulties between the two countries. Recent revolutionary movements in Southern Brazil caused considerable difficulty and damage in adjacent Uruguayan territory. The protocol binds each of the signatories to inform the other whenever any revolu-

tionary disturbance arises in its territory, and to take effective measures to suppress such activities by internment and otherwise.

A mission from Geneva arrived in Montevideo, Uruguay, in April for the purpose of making an investigation in South America in regard to possibilities of finding employment for Russian refugees. At the last session of the League of Nations the general supervision of repatriation work on behalf of Russian and Armenian refugees was transferred from the Secretariat of the League to the International Labor Organization. This mission is headed by Colonel Procter, Deputy High Commissioner, who expects to complete the work of the commission during the present year.

Press reports of April 24 from Berlin outline an extension of the services now performed by the German Aerial Company, which has been operating successfully in Colombia for more than two years. This company has supplied semi-weekly transportation for passengers and freight from Barranquilla, at the mouth of the Magdalena River, to Bogotá, the capital, with a minimum of interruption. The venture has been profitable, and the company now proposes to extend similar transportation facilities throughout Central America and to Cuba and Florida. The report adds that the Government of the United States has offered favorable sites for airdomes and landing fields, and has granted special permission for the planes to land at Key West.

Argentina

DR. HONORIO PUEYRREDON, Argentine Ambassador to the United States, returned to this country in April after several months' leave of absence. He reported that Argentina was profiting by the exclusion of immigrants from the United States, since a large number who would enter this country are now going there, where they are much needed. Dr. Pueyrredon declared that his country was on the eve of an era of expansion and needed only capi-

tal to begin the development. Cesar Etcheverry, Police Commissioner of Buenos Aires, and Alfredo H. Fernandez, the Inspector General, arrived with the Ambassador as delegates to the International Police Conference in New York City. Señor Etcheverry, a proponent of fingerprinting and of the exchange of such records among police departments, said that 800,000 of the 1,800,000 residents of Buenos Aires submitted voluntarily to fingerprinting.

Sir Charles Greenway, Chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, when leaving Buenos Aires on March 17 announced that he had been unsuccessful in inducing the Argentine Government to reconsider its attitude toward his company's claims to certain additional areas in the Comodoro Rivadavia district. The Government based its refusal on the ground that the lands claimed are now included within the limits of the enlarged national reserve, which was, however, constituted after the acquisition by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company of the original concession in that area.

The Argentine Cabinet is furthering a policy of developing Comodoro Rivadavia oil fields by Government enterprise. A refinery at La Plata with a capacity of 2,000 tons a day is being constructed for the Government by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which is associated in this work with the Standard Oil Company. When the work is completed, it is expected that the Government will have a valuable asset besides being less dependent upon outside sources of supply for a commodity that is nowadays required for so many different purposes.

Argentina has extended to the Government of the United States an invitation to be represented at the Pan-American Congress of Highways, which will meet in Buenos Aires in October, 1925. The United States accepted the invitation and will be represented by seven delegates, of whom Mr. J. Walter Drake, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, will be Chairman.

Brazil

ON MAY 3 the Brazilian Congress convened in joint session to listen to the reading of the message of President Bernardes. After stating that the present period of political and social unrest did not permit concealment of the acuteness of the difficulties facing the country, the President continued:

I shall frankly report actual conditions. I consider the most urgent necessity today is a revision of the national laws, which allow too much individual freedom. This individual freedom has forced eight of nine Brazilian Presidents to decree a state of siege in efforts to maintain public order.

At present it is impossible to obtain legislation providing for the proper punishment of the traitors who are taking part in the Sao Paulo and other seditious movements, as the Constitution does not permit capital punishment except during a time of international war.

Official advices received May 3 stated that rebels in Sao Paulo had seized a Paraguayan steamship in the Parana River for the purpose of proceeding to Matto Grosso; also that Brazilian troops had seized the port of Santa Elena on the Upper Parana.

Although the strike disturbances at Santos had completely subsided, delays attending the loading and discharging of vessels at that port caused much confusion. More than 120,000 tons of cargo remained in ships' holds awaiting discharge. The entire dock system paralleling the river was crowded with freight ready to move to various destinations in the interior or to adjacent warehouses. The whole situation presented a serious problem in the operation of ships to Brazil's chief commercial port.

Financial affairs continued to concern the Brazilian Government. The average value of the milreis remains slightly over \$10. This uniformity of exchange, though weak, is preferable to wide fluctuations. On March 1, 1925, there were in circulation in Brazil 2,222,508,000 milreis of inconvertible notes, 26,625,000 milreis having been withdrawn at the end of February in accordance with the contract between the Treasury and the Bank of Brazil. Notes of

the Bank of Issue in circulation on the same date amounted to 698,000,000 milreis, giving a total circulation of 2,920,508,000. With such an amount of inconvertible paper in circulation the internal purchasing power of the milreis was low and government financing was hampered.

A recent Presidential decree suspended during the fiscal year 1925 all public works wherever this was possible. The Prefect of Rio de Janeiro, however, signed a decree authorizing the issuance of 11,150,000 milreis for city improvements, including the reconstruction of the ocean boulevard and a continuation of the work on the Lagoa Rodrigo Freitas. The States most affected by the cessation of public work were continuing some of the projects without Federal aid. The State of Minas Geraes proposed to make advances to pay for the extension of railways within its boundaries. The State of Bahia undertook the construction of roads and reservoirs, expenses for which were being defrayed by the Federal Government. In view of the assumption by State Governments of expenses for railway extension, formerly carried by the Federal Government, Congress authorized an increase of 10 per cent. in railroad tariffs, the increased revenue to go to State funds for railroad improvements.

Captain A. W. Stevens, official photographer for the Hamilton Rice expedition, recently returned to the United States. The Rice party left New York on March 29, 1924, for Brazil to explore the region of the headwaters of the Parima River. The ten white men and fifty natives were guided through the jungles by maps made for them by Captain Stevens and Walter Hinton, one of the pilot's in the Navy's famous transatlantic flight. Many times Hinton's plane saved the party from dangers lurking in the river. Though a thousand miles from the nearest city, they were kept in touch by means of radio with London, Pittsburgh, and other centers of the civilized world. The rest of the party expected to return to the United States in July.

Bolivia

ON May 2 Dr. José Gabino Villanueva was elected President and Dr. Abdon Saavedra Vice President of Bolivia. They assume office on Aug. 6, the National Feast Day. The President and Vice President-elect, as candidates of the Government (Republican) party, polled 45,000 votes, as against 11,000 cast for the candidate of the Liberal party, Dr. Salamanca. Dr. Villanueva is a physician, who was formerly Minister of Instruction; Dr. Saavedra is a brother of the present Chief Executive.

On April 2 the election campaign was attended with some violence in Oururo and Cochabamba. In Oururo Dr. Salamanca was obliged to take refuge in the British Consulate, while in Cochabamba street fighting occurred in which two were killed and twenty wounded.

The Legation of Bolivia at Washington notified the Department of Commerce that an international industrial exposition would be opened in La Paz on Aug. 6 next, in connection with the celebration of the Bolivian Centennial of Independence. An invitation was extended to the manufacturers of the United States. Exhibits may enter Bolivia free of duty and no transportation charges will be made in Bolivian territory.

A bill now pending in Congress compels exporters of minerals to turn over to the National Treasury 25 per cent. of all drafts received by them in payment for the export of minerals. Under the present law the percentage due is 10 per cent. Mining interests oppose the new measure.

The 1924 budget of Bolivia covered fully the services of all loans of the country, both foreign and domestic, as well as the national and departmental obligations, and Congress approved a balanced budget for the present year. Progress continued to be made on the Bolivia Railway from Tupiza in Bolivia to La Quiaca on the Argentine border, with every prospect of completion in August of this year. This line will af-

ford continuous transportation between La Paz and Buenos Aires and should considerably facilitate business by way of the East Coast, especially in times like the present, washouts on the railroads from La Paz to Mollendo and Arica having recently prevented communication with the West Coast for weeks. The Bolivia Railway has been awarded a contract for construction work on the Potosi-Sucre Railroad. A loan of £600,000 has been granted to complete this work and to liquidate the debt of the Banco de la Nacion Boliviana.

Peru

RECENT heavy rains which proved so disastrous to the country ceased during April in the central and southern portions of the republic, but continued in the north. All railway traffic was suspended in the north during the first half of May. Repairs on the railroad to Oroya in the mining district will not be completed before the middle of July. Congress was still debating the budget of 1925 when these pages went to press.

Chile

THE Chilean Government has officially informed President Coolidge April 13 that the province of Tarata will be returned to Peru in accordance with the award in the Tacna-Arica dispute as soon as the arbitrator fixes the necessary provisions for the transfer.

Business had materially improved in Chile during the past three months but labor difficulties continued. Strikes during the past two months had been more numerous than at any time in recent years, with unrest permeating both laboring and salaried classes, particularly in mining industries and in public utilities. A general strike in the nitrate fields of northern Chile retarded business in the commercial centers of that district during the week

ending April 18. The strike was settled late in the month.

A new postal law became effective in Chile on Feb. 18. Modifications were made in several rates. Newspapers or periodicals mailed by publishers within the country are entitled to free postal service. In future letters are to be delivered to houses free of charge.

Colombia

A COUP D' ETAT was frustrated on Sunday, April 12, when a group of army officers who planned to take possession of the palace and the Government were arrested and thrown into prison. The conspirators planned to take advantage of the absence of President Nel Ospina from the capital. The President had been on a visit to various departments of the Republic. He returned suddenly and the arrest and confinement of the army officers followed. There had been strong protests during the past four months against investigation by Congress of the conduct of the War Department. The protests were resented by Congress, which asserted that the military officials had exceeded their authority.

The Colombian Cabinet resigned on April 27. The situation reached a crisis with the resignation of Foreign Minister Velez, who surrendered his portfolio because, despite his protest, Congress adjourned without acting on the Peruvian-Colombian treaty.

Venezuela

ON May 1 a radio service was inaugurated between the station at Caracas, Venezuela, and the naval station at San Juan, Porto Rico, for the handling of Government and commercial messages between the United States and Venezuela. Cable facilities between the two areas have been inadequate for the growing business.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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ONE of the most important events in the post-war history of the British Empire occurred on April 28 when Great Britain returned to the gold standard. Announcement of the step was made by Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a budget speech which also forecast a restoration of the McKenna customs duties on imported luxuries, imposed several new protective duties, including levies on silks and hops, reduced the income tax and the super-tax, increased the death duties and increased insurance benefits for the poor and aged. Australia and New Zealand simultaneously returned to the gold standard, and, as Canada was already on a gold basis and the Union of South Africa was pledged to follow suit on July 1, the currency of the whole British Empire was put virtually on a pre-war footing. Arrangements for the return to the gold standard included the granting of an immediate general license to the Bank of England to export silver and gold, pending the expiration of the law prohibiting such exportation on Dec. 31, putting the Bank of England under obligation to sell gold at the standard price in amounts of not less than 400 fine ounces (\$8,268) upon presentation of legal tender; arranging for credits of \$200,000,000 with the Federal Reserve Board in New York and of \$100,000,000 with J. P. Morgan & Co., and accumulating a gold reserve of £153,000,000 to defend and sustain the new fiscal position.

Mr. Churchill, in his budget speech, said that the American credits for which he had arranged had "been obtained and built up as a solemn warning to speculators of every kind * * * of the resistance they will encounter and of the reserves with which they will be confronted if they attempt to disturb the gold parity which Great Britain has now established." After referring specifically to the other countries that were substan-

tially on a gold basis, the Chancellor said:

Thus over the whole area of the British Empire and over a very wide and important area of the world there has been established at once one uniform standard of value, to which all international transactions are related and can be referred. * * * I believe that the establishment of this great area of common arrangement will facilitate the revival of international trade and interimperial trade. I believe that such revival and such foundations are important to all countries, and to no country is it more important than to this island, whose population is larger than its agriculture or its industry can sustain, which is the centre of a wide empire, and which, in spite of all its burdens, has still retained, if not the primary, at any rate the central position in the financial system of the world.

Even if it had not included provision for a return to the gold standard, Mr. Churchill's budget would have been regarded as a momentous one. The press pointed out, for instance, that the insurance provisions would next year give to widows of insured men ten shillings (\$2.43) weekly for life, with five shillings for the eldest child and three shillings for each other child under the age of 14, and also old age pensions payable at 65 instead of 70, as at present, without any test as to means. The resumption of the McKenna duties on films, clocks, watches, motor cars, motorcycles and musical instruments constituted a reversal of the policy of the late Labor Government, which had repealed them. As they are preferential in their application, it was expected that their reimposition would have an important effect within the Empire, as would the lightening of the duties on sugar and dried fruits to give preference to the British overseas colonies and dominions. On the whole, the budget, which amply met popular expectation that Winston Churchill would present unusual proposals, was well received, both in the House of Commons and in the country.

Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labor Party, however, attacked it as "a rich man's budget," because it introduced the principle of protection, because of its reduction of the super-tax and because it actually appropriated nothing for the insurance scheme. Liberals also declared that the protection provisions violated the pledges of both the late Bonar Law and Premier Stanley Baldwin.

One effect of the return to the gold standard and of certain other conditions was a marked reaction from national pessimism upon Great Britain's commercial and industrial position. Walter Leighton, editor of *The Economist*, declared that, on the whole, British industry was making steady progress toward recovery, despite depression in the coal, shipping and a few other industries. *The Daily Express* presented figures to show that depression was confined to a few trades, "however important these trades may be," and cited the reabsorption of 500,000 men into industries during the last two years and a manifest increase in national spending power as evidence of returning prosperity.

On the other hand, mines continued to close and both the Great Western and the London & North Eastern Railways announced a determination to reduce labor expenditures. They declared this action to be absolutely necessary on account of decreasing traffic, especially in coal. The dispute between Lord Weir, the steel magnate who attempted to stimulate the production of cheap steel houses, and the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, who demanded that such houses should not be put together by men on unskilled labor wages, became acute. On April 24 an official board of inquiry rejected the demands of the union and directed that the matter should be settled by agreement.

Living costs fell slightly during the month and there was some decrease in unemployment, both phenomena, however, being considered of a seasonal character.

Northern Ireland

THE second Parliament of Northern Ireland, whose members were elected on April 3, assembled in Belfast on April 14. The Governor (the Duke of Abercorn), read the King's speech, which contained proposals for the extension of schemes for the relief of unemployment, the further assistance of industry and commerce through the Loan Guarantee act, the provision of electrical power in industrial areas, afforestation and harbor development. The return to power of the Unionist Party, led by Sir James Craig, despite the fact that its strength was reduced from 40 to 32 seats in a body of 52, was accepted in Ireland as indicating a continuance of popular support for the policy of resistance to any weakening of the union with Great Britain or the yielding of any Ulster territory to the Free State, coupled with a return to more normal political processes in domestic matters. As the ten Nationalists elected from the border counties refused to take their seats, the official Parliamentary opposition was headed by John Kyle, a Labor representative. On April 28, however, Joseph Devlin and the member from County Antrim took the oath of allegiance and assumed their Parliamentary responsibilities. The other Nationalist members issued a statement declaring that they would not take their seats until after the report of the Boundary Commission had been made, and that they then would act as a unit in deciding whether to enter Parliament. Analysis of the voting on April 3 showed that the Unionist losses were in County Antrim and Belfast, while in the border counties Sir James Craig's party increased its strength. Following is a digest of the vote calculated on the "first preference" figures: Official Unionist, 210,834; Independent Unionists, 34,816; Nationalists, 91,694; Republicans, 20,665; Labor, 18,123; Unpurchased Tenants, 4,216; Town Tenants, 3,320.

Without doubt unemployment was the most serious immediate problem

facing the Government upon the meeting of Parliament. More than 48,000 men were out of work, despite relief measures taken by the State in conjunction with the local Government authorities. Announcement was made of the promotion of John Milne Barbour, financial secretary to the Ministry of Finance, to the post of Minister of Commerce, with a seat in the Cabinet.

Irish Free State

THE most important event of the month in the Irish Free State was the introduction on April 22 of the annual budget. Finance Minister Ernest Blythe announced proposals to reduce the income tax from 5 shillings to 4 shillings in the pound; to abolish the duties on tea, raw cocoa, coffee and chicory; to drop the imperial preference on sugar and to reduce the sugar duty from 2 3-4 pence to 1 penny per pound; and to impose new protective duties of 15 per cent. on all clothing and 33 1-3 per cent. on wooden furniture. The estimates for the year 1925-26 were £26,238,453, which is £6,774,280 less than those for the year 1924-25. The principal reduction was in the matter of awards made in compensation for property destroyed during the disturbances of recent years, although the budgets of nearly all the spending departments of the Government were cut. Mr. Blythe also announced that the Government had decided to adopt protection upon a fuller basis, but agreed to present this issue to the people at a general election before bringing in new protective taxes. Of political significance were the facts that the new budget brought "the salary earner's income tax and the poor man's breakfast requirements" below the rates prevailing in Northern Ireland, and the income tax below that in force in Great Britain.

India

IN the absence of the Earl of Reading, who was called to London for consultation with the India Office, the Earl of Lytton, Governor of Bengal, be-

came Acting Viceroy and Governor General of India. Lord Reading was enabled to return to England during his term of office as the result of the enactment in 1924 of an act of Parliament repealing a statute passed 130 years ago providing that any viceroy or commander-in-chief who left India "with intention to return to Europe" thereby vacated his office.

The Government of Madras proposed to organize, as an experimental measure, land mortgage banks in four selected localities for the purpose of lending money to agriculturalists on long terms in order to enable them to redeem debts on their lands and improve their methods of cultivation. The banks will be on a cooperative and limited liability basis. Each will have a working capital of 100,000 rupees, of which the Government will take half, provided the public first takes the other half. The public will be allowed interest at 7 per cent. on its debentures, while the Government will receive 6 per cent. on its investment. Each member will be eligible to receive a maximum loan of 1,000 rupees, at the rate of 9 per cent.

Lord Rawlinson, the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, died in Delhi on March 28. It had been already announced before his death that he would be succeeded by Sir William Birdwood.

Canada

THE budget of the Canadian Government was passed by a narrow majority on May 1 after a debate extending over a month and a half and participated in by more than a hundred members of Parliament. In the final discussion the entire fiscal policy of the Mackenzie King Administration was attacked by Arthur Meighen, who also sought to show that the problems confronting Canada today were due "in considerable degree to inefficiency, lack of control, and lack of definiteness of purpose on the part of the Government." In his reply the Prime Minister especially protested against the parliamentary methods of the opposition parties

and threatened to appeal to the country for a majority that would enable him to carry through legislation more expeditiously.

The attitude of Quebec on the proposal to abolish the Canadian Senate was clearly reflected in a vote of the Provincial Legislature, which adopted by a large majority a resolution expressing opposition to any such change. The Legislature also pronounced against the abolition of the Legislative Council of the Province.

Announcement was made on April 2 that the attempt to negotiate a settlement of the dispute over the Labrador boundary between Quebec and Canada on the one hand and Newfoundland on the other had failed. Newfoundland offered to sell the whole territory under dispute for \$30,000,000 or all except a three-mile coastal strip for half of that sum. Quebec, with the concurrence of the Dominion authorities, considered this sum as beyond her means, while the Newfoundland Government could not name a lower figure because of the opposition which such action would incur among the Newfoundland people. The official correspondence urged that the matter be submitted to the Privy Council for decision.

The new Saskatchewan Government Control Liquor act went into effect on April 16. Under the law the amount of intoxicants sold to any individual in a single day was limited to the rather liberal allowance of four gallons of beer, two gallons of wine and one quart of spirits in a city store and four gallons of beer in a country store. The Government stores were opened on a "cash and carry" basis, with mail order facilities extended to country customers.

Australia

DURING the month under review a storm of protest was raised in Australia, especially in labor quarters, against the letting of contracts for two Australian cruisers to British shipbuilders. The protectionist newspapers, which usually support Premier Bruce,

joined in the criticism of this action and declared that the vessels should have been built locally, even at increased expense.

In South Australia the Labor Party attacked Premier Bruce in a resolution expressing indignation that the Geneva protocol had not been submitted to the Commonwealth Parliament and demanding that the protocol be at once placed before the Legislature for its action.

Prohibition sustained a severe defeat in Western Australia on April 4 when in a 50 per cent. poll three-quarters of the votes were against the proposal to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor in the State.

South Africa

RACIAL feeling and the problems of domestic and imperial politics receded into the background in the enthusiastic welcome which South Africa tendered the Prince of Wales when he landed at Cape Town on April 30. Official welcome was extended to the Prince by the Premier, General J. B. M. Hertzog, who two days before the arrival of the royal visitor had made a notable public address in which he coupled a declaration of strong opposition to secession from the empire with an appeal for cooperation in the Union between Briton and Boer.

Some 4,000 natives took part in a riot at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, on April 20. The incident was declared by influential sections of the press to be a part of a wider movement to foment native discontent, and was alleged to have grown out of the native policy pursued by the Nationalist-Labor Government. Other newspapers attributed the incident chiefly to the enforcement of new regulations preventing the illicit manufacture and sale of Kaffir liquor.

Proposals were introduced in the Assembly providing that except for a limited list of articles on which she has been given preference, Great Britain should be put on exactly the same tariff footing as other nations. Members of the Opposition attacked the statement of General Hertzog that Great Britain

could bargain for minimum rates as well as any other nation.

Two important by-elections held on April 8 resulted in victories for the Government. At Klerksdorp, Transvaal, the Nationalist candidate defeated his South African Party opponent with an increased majority, while at Graafrinet the same party easily retained the contested seat. The results were claimed as a vote of confidence in the Hertzog Government.

In the Assembly the Prime Minister astonished the Opposition by declaring on April 6 that the Color Bar bill, which he had previously stated would be referred to a select committee in accordance with the suggestion of General Smuts, would be committed only after second reading had been taken. As the second reading would accept the principle of the bill, strong opposition to this course was voiced by the Opposition.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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INTEREST in French affairs during the month centred upon the downfall of the Herriot Ministry and the creation of a new Government. The incoming Cabinet, which was headed by M. Paul Painlevé as Premier, included two notable figures: Joseph Cailaux, former Premier, who was convicted four years ago of war-time treason, accepted the portfolio of Minister of Finance; Aristide Briand, many times Premier, took the post of Foreign Minister.

The Herriot Ministry resigned on April 10. It was generally agreed that the retiring Premier had handled the foreign situation with marked ability. His downfall was precipitated by the disclosure that, contrary to law, his Government had permitted the Bank of France to issue notes in excess of the permitted limit, thereby "inflating the currency," a development which the Ministry had declared it would not permit. Another move which strengthened the Opposition was that the Cabinet in order to retain the votes of the Socialist deputies, had put itself behind a taxation scheme which practically amounted to a levy on capital. To the last the Herriot Government retained a narrowing majority in the Chamber, but the

situation gave much greater advantage to the Opposition in the Senate, where M. Millerand and M. Poincaré used every weapon to force a crisis.

The Cabinet developments were coincident with extreme financial uncertainty, which culminated upon April 13 in a letter from M. Robineau, Governor of the Bank of France, to retiring Finance Minister de Monzie, stating that unless a law were passed very speedily, legalizing the existing two-billion franc inflation of the currency, the Bank might have to "suspend temporarily." Shortly after M. Herriot sent in his resignation, President Doumergue invited M. Briand to form a Cabinet. The latter, after wrestling with the situation, announced that he was unable to do so because he could not be sure of the support of the large Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies. The President therefore turned back to M. Painlevé, who already on April 12 had refused to form a Ministry. Evidently there were new developments behind the scenes, for on April 16, to the surprise of Paris, it was stated that not only would M. Painlevé tempt fortune as Premier but that M. Briand, who is not accustomed to play second fiddle, would act as Foreign Minister and that M.

Caillaux, no friend of Briand, had agreed to become Minister of Finance.

While the new Government was in the process of formation the retiring Ministers were engineering through the Chamber the law increasing the legal limit of the note circulation of the Bank of France from 41,000,000,000 francs to 45,000,000,000. The Socialists, who had been strongly opposed to the measure unless it were accompanied by their capital levy panacea, were appeased by an amendment making the law run only to July 15, when new fiscal laws would be required. The bill therefore was passed by 325 votes to 27 and the Senate immediately approved it by 193 votes to 5.

It was not until 2 A. M. on April 17 that M. Painlevé was able to announce the actual personnel of his Government. The new Cabinet was finally completed as follows:

PAUL PAINLEVE—Premier and Minister of War.

SENATOR JULES STEEC—Vice Premier and Minister of Justice.

ARISTIDE BRIAND—Foreign Affairs.

JOSEPH CAILLAUX—Finance.

SENATOR A. SCHRAMECK—Interior.

EMILE BOREL—Marine.

SENATOR CHARLES CHAUMET—Commerce.

ANDRE HESSE—Colonies.

ANTOINE DURAFOUR—Labor

ANATOLE DE MONZIE—Education.

PIERRE LAVAL—Public Works.

JEAN DURAN—Agriculture.

LOUIS ANTERIOU—Pensions.

From motives of economy the Ministry of the Devastated Regions was eliminated as a separate division and this work was placed in charge of an Under Secretary. Virtually all the Ministers and Under Secretaries of the Painlevé ministry belonged to the Radical Socialist, Radical and Left Radical Parties. To all practical purposes, therefore, the new Government may be said to be in the hands of men of moderate liberal tendencies; as a result of the change the various Radical elements enjoyed far less influence than under the Herriot Ministry. Popular sentiment continued, however, to support the Socialists, as was disclosed in the general municipal



PAUL PAINLEVE
Premier of France in succession to Edouard
Herriot

elections held throughout France on May 4; early results showed that the Right wing had lost twenty-eight municipalities, while the Left wing gained twenty-eight.

The summons to power of M. Caillaux, so bitterly hated by an enormous body of Frenchmen, was based upon the very general belief that, whatever his war record and his attitude toward Germany, he was a financial genius of the highest order and that if any one could extricate France from her economic embarrassments it was he. The relations of Caillaux with M. Millerand and M. Poincaré, both of whom now enjoyed increased power in the Senate, were so extremely unfriendly that violent Parliamentary battles were considered almost inevitable. M. Caillaux, however, was considered as somewhat of a conservative in his fiscal program and as likely to oppose the So-

cialist scheme for a capital levy. As a consequence, despite the fury of the Nationalist press and its exhortations about remembering France's million and a half war dead, the new Cabinet seemed likely to receive a fair hearing in the Chamber of Deputies and even in the Senate.

The Chamber on April 21 listened quietly to the rather perfunctory and uninforming speeches by which the new Premier and some of his associates announced their accession to office. A different reception, however, was accorded M. Caillaux; the instant that the new Finance Minister walked into the Chamber behind M. Painlevé and M. Briand all the Deputies of the Right wing rose, with such yells as "Amnesty for Lenoir and Bolo Pasha" (arch-traitors), and "Caillaux, resuscitate the dead!" The speeches by the Nationalist Deputies which followed were terrific in their denunciations of the character and patriotism of the new Finance Minister. The latter was reported to have writhed under the excoriating arraignment; he made no answer, however, and when he spoke devoted himself to business. Finally, by 304 to 218, the Chamber passed a formal vote of confidence in the Ministry and the tense scene was over.

M. Caillaux on April 23 faced the Senate which five years before had condemned him, and made a speech in behalf of extreme economy in the Government. He was given a reasonably respectful hearing and made a good impression. As yet his financial proposals were extremely vague, but he suggested an increased income tax, bringing it up to the British or American level, and the rigid enforcement of taxation upon the wealthy classes, which had been charged with general evasion hitherto. It was generally believed that the new Government would feel its way to new fiscal measures very carefully and make some genuine effort to reach a settlement with Great Britain and the United States on the war debts. M. Millerand and M. Poincaré meanwhile were reported to be planning an

intensive campaign throughout the country to upset a Ministry dominated, as they alleged, by a traitor to France.

The new Ministry's advent naturally signaled the complete collapse, for the time being at least, of the anti-Clerical crusade waged by the Herriot Government. M. Briand announced in the Chamber that the new Government would maintain "a highly qualified representative at the Vatican," and would pursue a policy of the "utmost friendliness" to Alsace-Lorraine, where Clerical sympathies were so keen.

M. Herriot, retiring Premier, on April 22 was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies in the place of his successor in the Cabinet, M. Painlevé. The debate before his election was marked by extreme bitterness, it being the evident desire of his opponents to leave no stone unturned to force a dissolution of the Chamber and an electoral appeal to the nation.

M. Caillaux on May 1 assured American correspondents that his immediate task was to prepare for 1926 "a budget which will be absolutely sound." It was stated on May 7 that M. Caillaux would advocate 3,000,000,000 francs additional taxes; one point stressed by the Finance Minister in this regard was the need of enforcement of the income tax law on farmers; hitherto, due to their political power, farmers had been allowed to evade payment.

The friction between the Communists and Nationalists in Paris came to a tragic climax upon April 23, when a group of young men belonging to M. Millerand's "Nationalist League" were attacked by Communists; three of the Nationalists were killed in the fight that ensued. The Communists formally denied that two alleged participants in the shooting, who were subsequently arrested by the police, were members of their party, but the police asserted that seized documents proved the contrary. The tragedy created a deep stir among Nationalist leaders, who saw it as boding a Communist menace. The murdered youths were buried upon April 26

after an elaborate public funeral ceremony in Notre Dame Cathedral. The Government was represented by Premier Painlevé, and M. Millerand and General de Castelnau were among the speakers. Commenting upon the case, the Communist newspapers asserted that the slain youths were the aggressors and that their fate was "the chastisement of provocation." Repressive steps were taken by the Government to avert further disorders in Paris. On May 4, the Cabinet voted to forbid the holding of the usual parades on Joan of Arc Day (May 10), because of threats of political disturbances.

While these momentous political events were occurring in Paris, press dispatches indicated that a dangerous condition was developing in French North Africa, and one that might involve really considerable military operations.

It was reported from Morocco, on April 21, that the Riff warriors, who had defeated the Spaniards, were turning their attacks upon the native tribes which had been friendly to the French. The insurgents were said to have been led by one of the chief lieutenants of the redoubtable Abd-el-Krim. After a whirlwind clash they retired again into the Spanish zone, having created such terror that the friendly Beni Zerouai tribes retreated for safety behind the French military outposts. There had not been up to that time any actual collision with French soldiery, but so direct an attack upon tribes friendly to France was considered virtually an attack upon French sovereignty in the region.

A little later it was reported that the influential Cherif Derkaoui had been compelled to flee from his native district into the French encampment. Although the military authorities professed no intentions of attempting direct operations against Abd-el-Krim, it was stated that "certain minor measures for the protection of friendly tribes" were becoming unavoidable. The Paris *Intransigent's* correspondent reported that the debatable districts in Morocco

were "a veritable witches' cauldron" of intrigue and disorder.

Marshal Lyautey on April 27 ordered reinforcements to be sent into Morocco from Algeria, it being reported that the situation was becoming more dangerous because of the approaching end of the Feast of Ramadan, and of the general fanaticism aroused among the Riffians by their successes in the Spanish area. The additional troops increased the French army to about 12,000. May 2 brought the news that serious attacks were being made over a zone of some 60 miles against the cordon of French blockhouses which guarded the approaches to Fez. In military circles it was believed that Abd-el-Krim was projecting an attack upon Fez itself, although no great fears were entertained that the isolated posts would be captured, as these were well provided with machine guns and three-inch pieces. There was some anxiety, however, regarding the question of supplying them. Word was received on May 7 that several outposts in the region of Bibane were suffering for lack of water; French aviators responded by dropping large blocks of ice in the vicinity of the blockhouses. The general situation grew daily more grave. It was revealed on May 7 that Marshal Lyautey had asked the French Government for more troops; according to the Marshal his army of 12,000 was pitted against a well organized force of 22,000. Dispatches received in Paris on the same day stated that the Riff airplanes were being operated by German officers; three German officers were declared to have been captured on May 6.

The change of Ministry provided a peaceful means for composing the situation created by the official closing of the Paris Law Faculty following student riots. The Minister of Public Instruction on April 15 published a decree reopening the institution and reinstating the disciplined professors. Meantime the legal authorities dropped the cases against two students accused of

rioting, although two others, it was said, would have to stand trial.

The bodies of 20,000 French soldiers and civil hostages who died in German prison camps during the war were turned over to the National Cemetery of Sarrebourg-Lorraine, which is located on the battlefield of Aug. 28, 1914. Here they lie in serried rows with a rosebush at each grave given as a "souvenir français."

Ambassador Emile Daeschner, on April 17, addressing the Bond Club of New York, gave an extended explanation of the financial burdens of France. He asserted that the Republic had extricated itself from great fiscal troubles before and would undoubtedly do so again. He stated that, far from being let off easily, the French taxpayers at present were enduring a load which from an American standpoint would be thought terrific. The fiscal burden per capita had risen from 104 francs in 1913 to 524 francs in 1923, 637 in 1924 and now in 1925 to 800 francs. He called attention to the fact that last year, for the first time since 1875, France's commercial balance had shown an excess of exports over imports.

Belgium

THE advent of May brought no solution of the protracted Ministerial crisis which had left Belgium without a Government since the resignation of Premier Theunis on April 5. The succeeding weeks were marked by numerous attempts on the part of various Belgian statesmen of diverse political faiths to form a Cabinet; King Albert finally on May 8, invited Aloys Van de Vyvere, former Finance Minister, to head a Government. After much deliberation M. Van de Vyvere announced that he would do so; at the time when these pages went to press, however, his Government, which it was understood would constitute a combination of various parties, had not been completed. The crisis, which on May 10 passed into its thirty-fifth day, proved the most prolonged in the history of Belgium. The

longest previous deadlock occurred in 1852, when the kingdom was without a Government for thirty-four days.

The Ministerial crisis was precipitated of the Socialist Party decided on April elections. As soon as the results were known King Albert invited M. Emile Vandervelde, former Minister of Justice and leader of the Socialist groups, to form a Cabinet. The General Council of the Socialist party decided on April 14 to convene a Socialist Congress for the purpose of arranging the new Government's composition and program. The Socialist Deputies, however, were not sufficient in themselves to give a Cabinet a working majority and M. Vandervelde, after considering the question for several days, announced on April 18 that he had been unable to get the support of the Flemish Catholic group and that without such support it was impossible to carry on the Government. The Socialist leaders, however, did not wholly abandon their efforts until April 23, when at a general meeting of the party, attended by 1,200 delegates, it was decided that the party should refrain from trying to form a Cabinet rather than attempt to make terms for a coalition with the Catholics and Liberals.

As a result King Albert on April 25 requested M. Aloys Van de Vyvere, a well-known financier and statesman, to organize a Ministry. M. Van de Vyvere declined, but accepted the second invitation of a week later.

Industrial developments during the month suggested that Belgium might have to pass through a severe industrial crisis. Following the reduction in the mine-workers' wages the employers in the glass-making industry of the Charleroi district announced for May 1 a cut of 40 per cent. in all wages. These reductions failed, however, to intimidate workers in other fields; on April 15 certain groups of metal workers in the Hainault district served notice that they would go on strike unless demands for increase of pay were complied with. Considering themselves generally men-

aced by such a threat, the industrialists of the province retaliated with the warning of a wholesale lockout.

Important progress in the development of the diamond mines of the Belgian Congo was announced at New York on April 10 by James Gustavus White-

ley, Consul General of Belgium and the Congo Free State; Mr. Whiteley stated that Belgian Congo today ranked second among diamond producers; he added that 540,000 carats of diamonds were exported in 1924 as against 15,000 carats in 1913.

Germany and Austria

By HARRY T. CARMAN

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THE German Presidential campaign was brought to a dramatic close on April 26 when General von Hindenburg, Field Marshal of Germany's armies during the World War, popular idol and candidate of the parties of the Right, decisively defeated ex-Chancellor Marx, Republican standard bearer. The final official vote was as follows:

Total votes cast.....	30,351,948
For Hindenburg.....	14,655,766
For Marx.....	13,751,615
For Thaelmann (Communist) ..	1,931,151
Scattering	13,416

It is evident from these figures that Hindenburg's plurality was 904,151. Compared with the election of March 29, approximately 3,500,000 more votes were cast. Moreover, the vote for the President-elect exceeded the total vote cast for all the Right candidates in the previous election by over 2,950,000. The returns also show that Hindenburg was warmly supported in the agrarian areas, while Marx made his best showing in the industrial centres. Hindenburg, for instance, rolled up big majorities in East Prussia, Frankfort-on-Oder, Pomerania, Merseberg, Thuringia, Schleswig-Holstein, East Hanover, Upper Bavaria and Suabia, Lower Bavaria, Franconia and Mecklenberg. He also carried Liegnitz, Magdeburg, South Hanover, Dresden-Bautzen, Chemnitz-Zwickau, the first Potsdam district, Leipsic and Hamburg.

Marx, on the other hand, was heavily supported by Berlin, North Westphalia, South Westphalia, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Coblenz-Trier, West Düsseldorf and Baden. In addition, he led Hindenburg in Oppeln, Hesse-Nassau, Hesse-Darmstadt, Breslau, the second Potsdam district, Weser-Ems Palatinate, Württemberg, and East Düsseldorf. On all sides the opinion was freely expressed that the former stay-at-home voters, plus the vote of the women, counted heavily for the Field Marshal. In Regensburg, for example, Hindenburg obtained 64.5 per cent. of the women's vote as against 35.5 per cent. for Dr. Marx. In this city 10 per cent. more women than men cast their votes for the Field Marshal. Many dissenters from the ranks of the Democratic and Centre parties also voted for Hindenburg. That the strong anti-Catholic feeling prevalent in certain sections militated against Dr. Marx was frankly admitted by many of his staunchest followers.

The campaign was bitterly fought. In appealing to the electorate Dr. Marx stressed the importance of maintaining the republic. The new Germany, he declared, had won the confidence of the world and had gone a long way toward insuring the country's economic regeneration. The real issue at stake, the Republicans asserted, was "republic versus monarchy." This Hindenburg and his supporters emphatically denied. In

fact from the very first they branded all such assertions, as "blatant falsehoods" and as "irresponsible election propaganda." As the time for the election drew near political charges became more frequent; the Republican press, for instance, asserted that the ex-Kaiser had contributed 1,000,000 marks to the Hindenburg campaign fund, while the Nationalists accused the Republicans of accepting foreign bribes for their "slush funds." As far as information is obtainable it appears that the junkers contributed most of the Nationalist funds, while the industrialists were exceedingly liberal to the Republicans. The Left parties also declared that Hindenburg's election would seriously shake the favorable position which Germany had succeeded in attaining under Republican leadership. Unlike its predecessor, the campaign in many respects closely resembled an American election, with bands, torch-light parades, handbills, stump speeches and radio addresses. All the leading cities and even some country places were bedecked with flags. American methods were also adopted on the day of the election. Emisseries from both sides invaded homes of lukewarm sympathizers, argued heatedly with them and, in some cases, practically hustled them to the polls.

So tense was the feeling that violence occurred despite the precautions to prevent it. In Berlin two men were mortally wounded and scores of others injured. Karlsruhe also reported two killed and many wounded. Except in Berlin and Karlsruhe the police succeeded fairly well in keeping the situation under control.

That the election left bitter animosities is evident from two facts: First, the Socialists on May 6 filed a protest in which they declared that the election was characterized by grave electoral irregularities, that Hindenburg's selection was fraudulent and that the election should, therefore, be declared null and void. This was overruled by the official Reichstag Investigating Committee on the ground that the irregularities were infinitesimal

compared with the total votes polled, and that they would affect not only the Hindenburg total but also the totals for Marx and Thaelmann; second, Otto Hörsing, leader of the Reichsbanner Republican organization, announced on the same date that the Reichsbanner would not participate in the inauguration of the new President. Both of these actions were severely criticized in many quarters and in particular by the parties of the Right.

The President-elect, who is 78 years old, was born in Posen in 1847. He first saw active service in the war against Austria in 1866. Four years later he went through the Franco-Prussian War. His victory over the Russians in 1914 raised him from comparative obscurity to the position of War Chief. When the tide turned in 1918 he remained at his post and did his full share in demobilizing the army and liquidating the defeat. His military record, together with his characteristic German ways, have endeared him to his countrymen; the esteem in which he is held was shown on May 7 when twenty-two hundred marchers with torches, as well as crowds of townsfolk, filed past his Hanoverian villa in a farewell demonstration. Since his retirement he has repeatedly urged the Germans to banish all thought of war from their minds and try to build their future by devotion to industry.

Whether his election means a step in the direction of a régime of authority in place of a régime of popular liberty and parliamentary government—in other words, in the direction of monarchy—is very problematical. Some observers profess to see a striking parallel between his election and that of Louis Napoleon in 1848. He has always been loyal to the Hohenzollerns, but during the campaign he asserted that he was not the tool or puppet of any man; since his election he has voiced the same sentiment. Some believe that his election was largely a sentimental tribute and that it will have little effect upon either European or German politics. Scarcely any fear is expressed anywhere that the Dawes plan

will not be respected. Except for a brief reaction in prices, the Berlin Bourse was unaffected by the election. Financial circles, not only in Berlin but elsewhere, do not anticipate any deleterious effects in the future and assume that Hindenburg and his associates will act discreetly.

Despite Hindenburg's resolve to support the Constitution of the republic, some of his leading adherents apparently hope for the early restoration of monarchy. Among these is Count Westarp, who, in a recent issue of the monarchistic *Kreuz-Zeitung*, declared that the election signified a defeat for the democratic idea:

The simple and honest personality of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, dominated by the old Prussian sense of duty, rooted in historical tradition of great deeds and days and the aristocratic idea of leadership and yearning of the German people for worthy representation, and strong leadership, which are embodied in that personality, have won a victory over the democratic idea of party government, which is alien to the German spirit.

Former Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm is reported to have said that the Nationalist organizations will do nothing toward restoring monarchy at present, but will wait for an opportune moment to set up a dictatorship.

Dr. Anton Höfle, former leader of the Centrist Party and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the Marx-Stresemann Cabinet, died suddenly on April 20. He had been in prison since February for alleged financial irregularities in connection with the famous Barmat brothers scandal. Although no formal indictment had been lodged against him on the charge that he had lent out Government funds without adequate security and also that he was involved in various undertakings organized by the Barmat brothers, he was persistently denied bail. Protests by his family and friends against his incarceration while ill were unavailing; a commission of prison doctors pronounced him sufficiently well to remain in prison. Political friends openly charged that Dr. Höfle was hounded by reactionary court officials, who were determined to discredit the Centrist Party,

in which Höfle played an important rôle. The matter of the \$175,000,000 Government credit to the Ruhr magnates was still under consideration by a Reichstag investigating committee. Foreign Minister Stresemann, appearing before the committee on May 4, defended the grant on the ground that it was necessary in order to enable the industrialists to meet the burdens imposed upon them by the French and Belgian authorities in the occupied area. He also said that the industrialists had informed the Government that they were unable to obtain foreign loans and that unless the Government came to their assistance they would be forced to suspend operations and thereby cause a serious unemployment crisis. Seymour Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations Payment under the Dawes plan, made it plain that it was impossible for the German Government to divert any part of the loan obtained under the Dawes plan toward indemnifying the Ruhr industrialists for sums paid by them to the French and the Belgians.

Addressing the Reichstag on April 30, Dr. Otto von Schlieben, Finance Minister, expressed the opinion that Germany would be unable to meet her reparations payments falling due under the Dawes plan next year without again dislocating her budget. "I cannot share the optimism," said he, "prevailing in recent months in Germany and abroad regarding the Reich's financial condition." The country, he said, faced a budget deficit of about 250,000,000 gold marks, which could be met only by another increase in taxation. He estimated that expenditures for 1925 would total 4,900,000,000 marks, against an aggregate revenue of only 4,652,000,000 marks. The deficit for the coming twelve months, it was explained, would be partly covered by a proposed increase in taxes on beer and tobacco.

The 1926 reparations payments total 495,000,000 gold marks. In 1927 this will rise to 675,000,000, in 1928 to 1,230,000,000, and in 1929 and thereafter to 1,540,000,000. The Finance Minister, therefore, urged the maximum re-

trenchment and warned the people not to expect any reduction in taxes. Revenue returns of the Federal Government for the year ended March 31 showed an excess over the estimates of more than 2,000,000,000 marks. Income tax returns exceeded the estimates by 900,000,000 marks, customs excise yielded 450,000,000 marks more than was anticipated, while the total revenue was 7,311,000,000 marks, against an estimated total of 5,243,000,000.

The German Railroad Company announced an increase in passenger tariff of 10 per cent., effective May 1; a slight increase in freight rates also was announced. The railroad company stated that the increases were necessary in order to meet the increase of 18,000,000 marks in operating expenses which was not foreseen at the beginning of the year when the estimates were made. Salaries of railroad employes were declared to be 52 per cent. higher than in peace times; it was added that 325,000 were on the road's pension lists. Statistics disclosed that the railroad's budget now averaged 390,000,000 marks yearly, against 114,000,000 in 1913. It was announced that freight traffic had greatly dropped off; the company claimed that, despite this slump, the personnel could not be reduced to any extent, and explained further that the passenger rates had been increased in order to meet the additional expenses; the company added that the freight rates were not substantially increased because it was feared that such action might augment the cost of living. Included in the railroad budget was 100,000,000 marks which the railroads pay yearly on account of reparations.

The German Wireless Trust and associated amateur unions and societies throughout Germany have appealed to the Governments of all civilized countries and broadcasting companies of the entire world to advocate annulment of regulations prohibiting the reception of wireless messages in the occupied German zone. Such restriction, the appeal declared, is an unworthy measure, as it prevents part of the cultured people

of Germany from sharing in the benefits of civilization.

The sensational "German Cheka" trial, which dragged on for several months before the Leipsic Supreme Court, reached a climax on April 22 when three Communists were condemned to death and thirteen others, including one woman, received prison sentences ranging from six months to fifteen years. In announcing the sentences the Court asserted that the accusations that the Moscow Soviet authorities had planned, through those condemned, to overthrow the German Republic, had been fully substantiated. The three men sentenced to death were Felix Neumann, Ernest Poege and Alexander Skobleuski. Newspapers of all political shades in commenting on the verdict stressed the gravity of the plot. The conservative press expressed the opinion that Hindenburg's election was a most salutary reply to the Communists' challenge.

The May Day celebration passed quietly, despite expected demonstrations against Hindenburg's election. There were numerous processions and a generous display of red flags, but public order was maintained with a few exceptions in the suburbs of Berlin.

The Supreme Court, completing its investigation of alleged war crimes by the former Crown Prince, found that Friedrich Wilhelm had given no orders to burn or plunder villages or towns and had not been responsible for the executions ordered by the military tribunals of his army corps. The Court therefore quashed further proceedings.

A new German museum at Munich was officially opened on May 6 in the presence of Chancellor Luther and other notables. The festivities included the first German performance of Richard Strauss's "Ruins of Athens" and "The Treasures of Prometheus," under the personal direction of the composer. The German Minister of the Interior, Herr Schiele, announced that the German Government was contributing 100,000 marks toward a fund for enabling students, craftsmen and laborers to visit the museum free. This fund will be called

after Oscar von Miller, Mayor of Munich, who was mainly responsible for promoting the museum.

It has been authoritatively announced that the next production of the Oberammergau Passion Play will not be given until 1930.

Austria

THERE is every indication that the Government of Austria will shortly ask the League of Nations Council either to take the initiative in breaking down the tariff walls dividing the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy or permit Austria to unite with Germany. In a plebiscite held in the various provinces in 1922 the vote was almost 100 per cent. in favor of union. Though officially dropped with the acceptance of the Geneva protocol, the plan has steadily gained ground with all classes largely because it is generally believed that Austria is too small to exist as an economic unit. In the recent German Presidential campaign ex-Chancellor Marx, candidate of the Republican bloc, came out frankly in favor of the annexation of Austria. Such a move, he declared, was just a small part of the complex problem of securing real peace in Europe. Austrians regard Field Marshal von Hindenburg's election as President of Germany a serious blow to the union idea. The *Neue Freie Press* characterizes it as a misfortune for the German people; the governmental *Reichspost* regards it as a victory of popularity over politics, while the *Abend* declares it to be a "victory of European discord over the Dawes plan and the London agreements."

Great satisfaction is felt on all sides that the abolition of visas between Germany and Austria has at last been realized. Spokesmen in both countries regard it as one more step in the direction of the creation of a greater Germany.

Many Austrians were both surprised and disappointed by the decision of M. Benès, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, to postpone his visit to Vienna which had been scheduled for May 14.

This is the second time that Benès has deferred his trip. The reason officially given is the sudden crisis in the Czech Parliament occasioned by the discussion over the protective tariff on wheat; it is rumored in well-informed circles, however, that the real reason is to prevent tension between the two countries. The Austrian press criticizes Benès because of his opposition to the union of Austria and Germany and his opposition to the proposed inquiry by economic experts. Austrian opinion is also embittered by the important rôle the Czech representative has on the League committee, and to him is attributed the refusal of permission to Austria to make a fresh loan for the electrification of railroads. Some think the Czech opposition to the loan authorization is due to the fact that Austria is now obliged to import most of her railroad coal from Czechoslovakia and electrification with the aid of water power would mean Czech loss. They recall that before the war Czech coal operators always opposed Austrian water power development by the railroads.

Despite the protests of the Balkan countries, the Austrian law granting the right of asylum to political refugees will not be changed. Owing to Communist plots and propaganda said to have been instigated in Vienna, several countries have requested that the émigrés be expelled from Austria. The existence of any important Communist headquarters continues, however, to be officially denied.

Police President Hans Schober of Vienna has enthusiastically approved the forthcoming Police Congress to be held in New York. Among other things he believes it will be able to devise methods of handling international criminals. Schober is reputed to have broken the backbone of Austrian Bolshevism in less than six months.

A green charcoal, called "lignizi," has been invented by Dr. Polcich of the Vienna Technical High School. It is claimed that the chemical qualities of the new substance will facilitate the use of crude iron in many metallic indus-

tries. "Lignizi" is prepared from ordinary wool and other cheap materials.

Commissioner General Zimmerman's twenty-eighth monthly report declared that the economic situation was most unsatisfactory, "awakening the increasing interest of several international circles." Commissioner Zimmerman feared

it would be difficult to keep within the limits of the budget project for the current year. Minister of Finance Ahrer, however, spoke optimistically of the budget and was of the opinion that from the revenue side no danger existed as the taxation receipts had been astonishingly favorable.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE month under review was one of the quietest and most uneventful since the Fascist Government came into power. Mussolini's withdrawal of Minister di Giorgio's army bill apparently did not weaken the prestige of the Fascist Government, as it was expected to do in some quarters. The Premier's speech on military preparedness gave great confidence in his realization of the needs of Italy's army, navy and air forces, so that the postponement of the consideration of further reforms was welcomed. After the resignation of Minister di Giorgio, whose bill was abandoned, Mussolini himself—supposedly for a temporary period—was sworn in at the War Office on April 7 as Minister of War.

Interest for the month centred on the provisions by which Finance Minister de Stefani had attempted to restore the value of the lira. The economic condition of Italy had shown steady improvement. The excess of imports over exports was constantly diminishing, having dropped from 61,000,000,000 lire in 1923 to 50,000,000,000 lire in 1924. The budget was balanced and the amount of paper money in circulation was being steadily decreased. During the past two months over 1,200,000,000 lire of notes from the Bank of Emission were withdrawn from circulation. In spite of these facts, the lira lately con-

tinued to decline. That fact was explained by the large purchases of wheat at the end of the year, by the effect produced by the recent discussion of interallied debts, by the political disturbances in Italy during the month of January and finally by the heavy speculation in stocks that led to great inflation on the market in recent months. Such speculation was lately checked by decrees for which Minister de Stefani was responsible. These decrees limited the number of accredited stockbrokers, by requiring heavy deposits from all those on the lists, at the same time necessitating a 25 per cent. deposit by the buyer on all stock transactions. The suddenness with which the decrees were applied led to such great confusion on the Italian stock market that some modifications in the regulations were accordingly made. Nevertheless, when the stock exchange was opened after the Easter recess, there was a heavy break in prices due to the considerable number of selling offers, so that on April 18, to prevent a panic, the Bourse was closed. In some quarters the prestige of Minister de Stefani seemed shaken, and there were rumors of Cabinet changes and reorganizations. In defense of de Stefani's policy, however, Mr. Otto Kahn, the New York financier, was quoted in an interview published in Mussolini's organ, the *Popolo*

d'Italia, on April 20, as saying that the Government's efforts to check speculation were sound, since Italy's great need was to prevent inflation. He added that the measures imposed were mild compared with the restrictions on traders of the New York Stock Exchange.

The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate were to reassemble after a recess, on May 14 and May 5, respectively. There was a movement on foot among a group of the Opposition Deputies to abandon the "Aventine Secession," which many of the Opposition wished to continue. Former Premier Bonomi published an article in the weekly, *L'Azione*, urging that the present policy of the Aventine Opposition be abandoned because the absence of the Deputies from Parliament was harmful to the best interests of the country. The reforms about to be discussed in the Chamber, he maintained, demanded the presence of the Opposition.

The censorship of the press continued and sequestrations of Opposition papers were matters of daily occurrence. On April 5 a number of private meetings to protest against the press restrictions were held in various Italian cities. The journalists continue to object particularly to the power which the Royal Decree of July 3, 1924, bestowed upon the local Prefects. These officials can sequester an entire issue of a newspaper because of one article to which they may take exception, while the journalists have no redress, not even an opportunity to appeal to judicial authorities. A new bill to regulate the press, in substitution of the Royal Decree now in force, had been planned by the Government but had not yet been put on the agenda of Parliament. The censorship existing in Italy had led Opposition forces to establish in Paris a weekly newspaper called *La Démocratie Italienne*. In the first number, which appeared on March 28, there was published a letter of Vico Perrone, one of the chiefs of the Fascist Militia. It gave an account of the attack, in December, 1923, upon Deputy Amendola, a leader of the Opposition, who was given a

thrashing in the streets of Rome. According to the letter, the action was ordered by General de Bono, Chief of the Fascist Militia, and was carried out with the consent of Mussolini. The next number of the weekly published the memorial of Filippelli which involved Mussolini in the orders for the kidnapping of Matteotti. The memorial, printed by *The Nation* for April 8, seemed generally to be regarded as authentic.

Signor Gentile, Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen, which is working on plans for constitutional reform, clashed with Edmondo Rossoni, Secretary of the Fascist Labor Unions, who had urged on the committee a plan for greater labor union representation in Parliament. Gentile complained that Rossoni had published details of plans which should have been confidential.

The celebration of the 2,678th birthday of Rome occurred on April 21. Following the custom instituted by Mussolini last year, the day was again treated as a national rather than a local holiday, as heretofore; it was indeed the official labor holiday throughout Italy, thus taking the place of May 1, the day that has so often been the occasion of serious disturbances in Italy. Though many of the groups of workers, especially the Communists, resented this enforced change of holiday, the new labor celebration was passed in comparative quiet. The celebration was of an imposing nature, especially in Rome. The Government instituted the custom of making "birthday presents" to the city. These included the hill of Monte Mario, overlooking the city on the north; part of the Oppio Hill adjoining the remains of Nero's Golden House, the beautiful Villa Celimontana and the Archaeological Promenade. These gifts, which are largely national monuments, will all be turned into parks, thus greatly increasing the city park space. The day was also the occasion for the formal opening by the King of the Forum of Augustus, where extensive excavations have been in progress during the past year.

Because of fear of a recrudescence of Communist activity, the police kept a close watch on all Communists throughout Italy on May 1. The efforts of the Communists to declare a general strike were not successful. Numerous arrests were made, especially in Naples, and large quantities of literature said to be intended for subversive propaganda were seized at Rome.

From the interior of Cyrenaica came reports on April 20 of victories of Italian colonial troops over the native tribes.

An interchange of notes between Egypt and Italy on the Libyan-Egyptian boundary is now in progress. The uncertainty about the boundary goes back to the days when Egypt and Libya were both under Turkish sovereignty. Difficulties having arisen after Italian occupation of Libya in 1911, Great Britain agreed by the Treaty of London in 1915 to a rectification of the frontier line. Discussion between Great Britain and

Italy ended in the Milner-Scialoja agreement of 1919. This was ratified by Great Britain but not by Italy. Further discussion of the subject was turned over by Great Britain to the Egyptian authorities.

The Pope on March 30 held a secret Consistory, at which two Spanish Cardinals were created. In his allocution the Pope expressed his satisfaction with the number of pilgrims who had come or were coming to Rome during the Holy Year. He announced the prospective celebration during the year of the sixteenth centenary of the Council of Nicaea. On several Sundays immediately preceding and on several other occasions both before and after that time, the Pope has celebrated with all the pomp and ceremony of the Church a series of beatifications and canonizations. Rome, always filled with visitors during Holy Week, had a far larger throng of foreigners than usual because of the celebration of Holy Year.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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Bulgaria

THE past month was a tense period in recent Balkan history because of a succession of unhappy events in Bulgaria and their possible repercussions in neighboring States. Between August, 1924, when Todor Alexandrov was shot in his mountain retreat, and March, 1925, Bulgaria witnessed thirty-seven political assassinations, mainly in connection with the guerrilla warfare which has been in continuous progress between two leading factions of the Macedonian revolutionists. If the rec-

ord were to be carried back to the time of the assassination of Premier Stambulisky and his replacement by the present Premier Tsankov in June, 1923, it would be still more appalling. Political argument during these two years has been principally that of bullets.

On April 14—the very day on which it was announced at Sofia that the Council of Ambassadors in Paris had approved the request of the Tsankov Government to be permitted to enroll 3,000 additional soldiers for use until the end of May in repressing Communist disorders—King Boris III, while motoring

between Orchanie and Sofia, was fired upon from ambush. M. Ilchev, Director of the Sofia Museum, who was with him, was killed, a servant was killed also, the chauffeur was wounded and the King was grazed by a bullet which carried away a part of his mustache. On the same day General Gheorghiev, one of the leaders in the movement which overthrew the Stambulsky Government, was killed in the streets of Sofia. Two days later, when a great crowd was gathered in and around the Cathedral of Sveti Kral (the Saint King) in Sofia to witness the funeral of the slain General, the structure was wrecked by the explosion of a bomb and more than 160 people met their death. Had the explosion been a little more accurately timed the entire Cabinet, which was leading the procession, might have been killed; as it was no Minister lost his life, although several, including Premier Tsankov, were injured.

General Gheorghiev, who was a Deputy and a member of the Democratic bloc which supports the Government, had recently been made a special military commissioner charged with executing a Defense of the State act, and it was hardly open to doubt that the outrages were committed by agents of the Federalist wing of the Macedonian revolutionists, which, in conjunction with the left wing of the old Stambulsky party of Agrarians, is charged by the Government with having received orders and funds from Moscow for launching a Communist revolution. Martial law was at once proclaimed throughout the country, and a vigorous search for the culprits was instituted. For a few days the kingdom was virtually cut off from the world, and report spread that a general revolution was in progress. This proved untrue, although disorder broke out in many places, arrests ran into the thousands, many suspects were killed in the course of raids and street battles, and numerous executions evidenced the intention of the Government to strike terror into the Communist ranks. The Council of Ambassadors was asked to allow an increase of the militia

by 7,000 men, in addition to the 3,000 already authorized; and, although the effect of the precedent was feared, the desired assent was given.

Naturally, the situation was watched closely, not only by neighboring States—notably Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece—but by the great powers, and warnings were issued from the British and French capitals designed to avert international complications. The American Minister also used his influence to discourage a policy of terrorism. An account of conditions in the country given by three members of the British Parliament who were in Sofia during the crisis was declared by Bulgarian officials to be overdrawn. But the events and revelations of succeeding days tended to bear out what the British legislators had said. The chief international danger was that Yugoslavia would take advantage of the disturbance to make demands or take other steps precipitating a conflict. Italy pointedly warned her against doing so, and on April 28 an olive branch was tendered by the Sofia Government in the form of a communiqué asserting that it had never suspected, and had not the slightest reason to suspect, the Yugoslav Government of complicity in the crimes.

What was believed to be another attempt to kill the King was frustrated on May 1 when officers of the guard discovered an almost completed subterranean passage in the royal palace; the passage was laid with an explosive fuse which the officers believed was intended for use in blowing up the building. The authorities ordered the trial by court-martial of numerous persons suspected of responsibility for the bomb outrage of the cathedral; the court-martial opened on May 1. Among those on trial was the sacristan of the edifice, who made a full confession of his complete complicity with the terrorists.

Prosecution of the Communists by the authorities continued into May; it was announced at Sofia on May 4 that the Government had formally outlawed all Communists, had decided to exterminate all Communist organizations through-

out the country and would continue its activities until the suspects all were in jail or out of the country.

It was announced on May 8 that sentences of death had been passed by the military courts upon twenty conspirators who were convicted of participation in numerous recent outrages; execution of sentence was suspended pending approval by the King.

Czechoslovakia

PROTRACTED negotiations culminated on April 7 in the signing of a noteworthy commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Poland. During a visit to Poland, April 20-23, Foreign Minister Benès paid his respects to the authorities at Warsaw, added his signature to the commercial agreement and also signed, first, a railway convention in which Czechoslovakia accorded transit facilities to Polish products destined for Austria, Hungary and Italy, in return for transit facilities for Czechoslovak merchandise destined for Russia via Poland, and, second, an arbitration convention undertaking to provide means for the settlement of all future disputes. The commercial treaty contained a most-favored-nation clause and embodied mutual tariff concessions of considerable importance; until it should be ratified by the parliaments of the two countries, most-favored-nation treatment was to be extended mutually on the basis of existing temporary arrangements. The efforts of the two States to compose their differences were watched with interest by their common defensive ally, France; Foreign Minister Briand sent telegrams of approval to both Benès and Skřínsky at Warsaw. There was hope in some quarters that a Czechoslovak-Polish alliance might result. M. Benès declared in replies to questions by journalists that the matter of Poland's entry into the Little Entente had not risen.

From a recent official review of progress in armament reduction, it appeared, first, that the period of military service, which until 1923 was two years, had

been reduced to eighteen months, and after 1924 would be fourteen months; second, that during the years 1924 to 1927 the number of men under arms was to be 150,000 in the Winter months and 90,000 in the Summer; third, that military expenditure had been reduced from 20 per cent. of the total budget in 1919 to slightly over 13½ per cent. in 1924. The obstacles to further disarmament were declared to be, first, Magyar nationalism; second, Habsburg monarchism, and, third, the lack of favorable inclination of certain great powers toward a universal guarantee pact of security.

Difficulties growing out of the religious question continued to disturb the country, and the situation there, together with that in France, Germany and Hungary, was watched anxiously by observers at the Vatican. A quarrel developed over the question of State holidays; the Government proclaimed the birthday of John Hus as a legal holiday, whereupon the Roman Church proposed that the birthday of one of its martyrs also be made a legal holiday, which move was discountenanced by the Government.

Certain Communist leaders early in April undertook to precipitate a general strike, or, failing that, a strike of the coal miners, with the object, according to non-Communists, of distracting attention from the steady decline of Communist support in the country, and also, perhaps, of showing Moscow that the Czechoslovak Communists were equally as revolutionary as their Russian fellows. Whatever the purpose, the effort failed. The time was ill-chosen, in that there were great stocks of coal on hand; and even in the Ostrava district, where about half of the miners went out, many soon returned to work voluntarily and the remainder were brought back by the threat of the employers to lock out all who continued recalcitrant.

Greece

A COMMERCIAL treaty with Czechoslovakia, based on the most-favored-nation principle, was signed on April 8.

The treaty was concluded for a term of six months only, and is automatically renewed every three months in the absence of a two-month notice from either side to terminate it.

Premier Mikhalakopoulos on April 21 informed the press that the Government would soon sign agreements with certain foreign companies for various development works in Greece, among them being, first, a new contract with the Ulen Company of the United States giving it the right to buy the proposed waterworks of Athens within five years after completion, and, second, an agreement with an Anglo-American group which is to cooperate with Greek banks in the construction of reclamation and irrigation works in the Vardar Valley and elsewhere in Macedonia. The last mentioned projects involve the reclamation of 300,000 acres of marsh land at present worthless.

The fact that the venerable Queen Olga spent some weeks in Athens during April, and that her presence incurred no opposition from the Government and precipitated no disturbance among the people, was considered a good augury for the permanence of the young republic and the increased orderliness of political life. It was noted by observers that in the year that has elapsed since the republic was proclaimed the atmosphere had changed remarkably—that, where formerly every one talked and wrangled and fought over politics, now there was at least a welcome lull, permitting the people to turn their energy to productive and helpful tasks.

As further evidence of normality it was pointed out that now the country was creditably represented abroad by competent diplomats—such as M. Simopoulos, Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States—who have endeavored to hold aloof from factional partisanship; while at home the permanent republican Constitution, a principal clause of which provides for the restoration of a Senate abolished in 1862, was almost ready to be put into effect.

Hungary

JEREMIAH SMITH, Commissioner General of the League of Nations for Hungary, on April 15 returned to the United States for a brief vacation. For a year he had been guiding financial destinies at Budapest rather more deftly and successfully than Dr. Zimmerman at Vienna. The finances of Hungary, he reported recently, were in excellent condition. He added:

The plan of the League of Nations was to provide a balanced budget and stabilize currency, and for this purpose the international loan of \$50,000,000 was floated. Two and a half years were allowed in which to balance the budget, but the work was done in six months. Furthermore, only one-third of the loan was used. The other two-thirds are held in the banks of Hungary for emergencies. Though it is true that the budget was balanced only temporarily, we have every reason to believe that the work will be permanent.

It is worthy of record that Mr. Smith refused to accept compensation for his services beyond a sum sufficient to pay his expenses.

The charge is frequently made that Hungary is turning the League's support to account by using part of it to build up her military forces. This is not true, except perhaps in a very indirect sense; and, although about a sixth of the country's present expenditure goes for military purposes, her outlays in this direction are not greater than seem proper to League officials.

Admiral Horthy has so far receded into the background, and has so small a part in present political affairs, that the oft-heard phrase, "the Horthy régime," has become rather misleading. The man who really dominates current Hungarian affairs is the Prime Minister, Count Bethlen, whose record is extraordinary, not only because he never held ministerial office before he was made Premier, but also because he has now been in office longer than any other Premier in Europe.

Count and Countess Karolyi left Canada for England on April 10. Landing in that country a week later, they renewed the charges they had made

against the present Hungarian Government during their two days' stay in Canada, notably on the ground that the Horthy régime was responsible for the "gag" imposed on Karolyi, President of the first Hungarian Republic, by the State Department at Washington. The Karolyis on arriving in England lauded British freedom and denounced the attempt of the American Government to suppress free speech.

A commercial treaty with Poland was concluded on March 25. The treaty which Count Bethlen negotiated with Russia last year had been so bitterly opposed in Hungary that the period for ratification expired on April 12 without any action being taken; and it was assumed that the agreement would be dropped.

Poland

NEGOTIATIONS for a Polish-German treaty of commerce, suspended for the Easter holidays, were resumed at Berlin on April 21. The election of von Hindenburg as President of Germany evoked much caustic comment in the Polish press, mainly because of the recent troubles with the free city of Danzig and because of the widespread conviction that Germany was hoping to regain the Polish "corridor" and also upper Silesia.

The Permanent Court of International Justice convened on April 14 for its seventh session in order to prepare and submit to the Council of the League of Nations an advisory opinion concerning the Polish-Danzig postal controversy. Several questions were to be passed upon in this matter, among them, first, whether the Polish postal service in Danzig was restricted to its own premises, or whether it was entitled to set up letter-boxes to collect and deliver mail outside of those premises; second, whether the use of the service was confined to Polish authorities or whether it properly extended to the public, and, third, whether any decision of the Polish High Commissioner in Danzig upon these and related matters

was to be regarded as legally in force. Preparation of the opinion was expected to occupy the Court's time until the beginning of the regular annual session on June 15.

The Polish War Minister, General Sikorski, on April 8, arrived in Paris to confer with French Government officials. He declared in an interview that his country would fight rather than cede "one inch of its territory, East or West." There is not much doubt that Moscow and Berlin would be glad to participate in a new division of Polish lands. But inasmuch as there is no reason to believe that any attempt in this direction has been contemplated in either quarter, the Minister's strong phrases were interpreted as a means of stirring national feeling at home and also of reassuring the French people that the Poles share their sentiments about the enforcement of the Versailles treaty.

The tightening of the ties between Poland and France was again evidenced during the last week of April by two events: One was the decision of the Warsaw Government, in view of the difficulties of France's financial situation, not to ask for the last 100,000,000 francs of the 400,000,000-franc loan pledged by the French authorities last year for promotion of military defense; the other was the opening of a French Institute at Warsaw, planned to give instruction in all phases of French learning and culture. The institute is organized as a branch of the University of Paris and has a Faculty representative of both French and Polish universities and learned academies.

Fear of a Polish-Czechoslovak alliance was reported on April 22 to have prompted the Moscow Government to make to the various Baltic States certain proposals looking to a compact guaranteeing non-aggression; it was not indicated what response would be made to the suggestions. The assassination on March 29 of the two Communist agitators, Baginski and Wierzorkiewicz, when on their way to the Polish border for exchange, led to monster anti-Polish demonstrations in Leningrad and other

Soviet centres. On April 16 Father Branislav Oussas, one of the Poles who was to have been given up in exchange, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in strict isolation. As a safeguard against a rumored Communist uprising on the Polish borders on May 1, the Warsaw Government on April 26 caused a large number of alleged Communist spies to be arrested and placed on trial.

Rumania

STEPS to press the Rumanian relief debt question to an early settlement were initiated during the month at Bucharest by the United States Government, through Minister Jay; announcement of the opening of these negotiations was made at Washington on April 14. The amount involved aggregates \$42,000,000, principal and interest. The loan was viewed by the State Department as a relief transaction, not to be confused with war loans to the Entente powers; in his statements to the Bucharest authorities Mr. Jay emphasized the fact that Rumania had negotiated refunding agreements with several other Governments covering similar loans antedated by, and smaller than, the American loan. There were evidences that the demand would receive all due consideration, particularly because of its transmission at a time when Finance Minister Bratianu was examining proposals made by an American financial group in regard to a loan of \$100,000,000 for electrification and other reconstruction of Rumanian railways.

Mr. Jay, appointed Ambassador to Argentina, and to be succeeded at Bucharest by William S. Culbertson of Kansas, until recently Vice Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, was to remain at Bucharest indefinitely to conduct negotiations concerning the loan; he also was authorized to press for satisfactory settlements of several other outstanding questions, notably the discriminatory fea-

tures of the new Rumanian mining law and claims of private American citizens arising from advances made to the Rumanian Government in connection with relief and reconstruction work after the war.

The Rumanian legation at Washington announced that a settlement had been reached with the Standard Oil interests April 17 in respect to the dispute growing out of the new mining law; the nature of the understanding was not disclosed.

Yugoslavia

THE course of post-election politics in Yugoslavia gave hope that, after years of strife, Centralist Serbs and Federalist Croats would eventually be able to live together in peace. Speaking for his uncle, Stephen Raditch (who was still held in prison on charges of treasonable conduct), Pavel Raditch announced in the Skupshchina (Parliament) late in March, first, that the Croat Peasant Party would in future have no dealings with any foreign authorities, specifically those of Moscow; second, that it recognized the existing situation to be based on the present Constitution, of which the unified State and the Karageorgevitch dynasty form parts, and third, that henceforth the party would look toward achieving reforms in the organization of the State by peaceful, parliamentary means. On April 30 the Pashitch Cabinet resigned; and the general expectation was that its successor would be a "concentration" Government including representatives of the Croatian Party.

Inasmuch as Yugoslavia had signed neither the peace treaty of Lausanne nor that of Sèvres which preceded it, the country continued to be technically in a state of war with Turkey. It was expected, however, that a delegation would leave Belgrade for Angora before the end of June to enter upon negotiations for a separate treaty.

Russia

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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INTEREST in Russian affairs during the month under review centred upon the manifestation by Communist leaders of an inclination toward more liberal interpretation of Communist principles. Following the significant address which Alexis I. Rykov, President of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, delivered on March 5 before the Federal Parliament at Tiflis, there were numerous indications that the Soviet leaders had experienced a change of heart with respect to party policy. In the first days of April, Stalin, at present the most powerful leader among the Communists, met an assembly of provincial delegates in Moscow. These delegates told the leader that the peasants would not plant crops or improve the land unless guaranteed possession for a long term of years. Stalin replied that land would be granted to the peasants for at least twenty years, perhaps forty. He said, further, that they might eventually find the land returned to private ownership without restriction. When the representatives of the peasants reminded him that such promises, if fulfilled, would violate the Soviet Constitution, Stalin is said to have remarked: "We wrote the Constitution. We can change it also." Upon returning to their provinces the delegates could tell the peasants, he continued, that they would be admitted to the eligible list for the highest offices in Soviet Russia. This statement was regarded as important, inasmuch as it put Stalin on record as favoring a serious compromise of Communist principles.

Soon after this announcement the Soviet Government issued a decree permitting farmers to use hired labor. It was further announced that they could extend the workday beyond eight hours and employ children over 12 years of age for light work. They might hire any

number of workers, but contracts were not to run beyond twelve months and were to be registered with village authorities. It was also required that employers of farm hands provide sickness insurance and pay wages no lower than the minimum set for their particular district by the Labor Commissariat. According to the Soviet land laws, which were constructed upon "wartime communism," the whole land was State property, and it was to be distributed among the peasants in proportion to the size of their families and their ability to work the allotment by their own toil. They were forbidden to lease additional acreage or employ laborers. The peasant population of Russia had never been reconciled to these Soviet laws. There had been constant friction between Soviet authorities and peasant farmers, and doubtless widespread evasion of the laws. The new ruling was therefore regarded as having been especially devised to pacify the rural classes whose animosity toward the Communist theory of landholding was largely responsible for the uncertain condition of agriculture in Russia.

Another decree was laid before the Council of Commissars for discussion on April 24; this order would allow the establishment of private industrial concerns without limit as to the number of workers or equipment and machinery. Under the "new economic policy" of 1921 private individuals could operate only home factories employing not more than twenty workers. This new decree would permit the organization of industries employing twenty workmen without any preliminary permission being necessary. Enterprises requiring between twenty and two hundred workmen were required to obtain permits from the executives of the district Soviets. Private concerns which would employ more than two hundred

were directed to negotiate for a concession from the particular republic of the Union in which it would operate.

It was reported in Berlin on April 29 that Bukharin, editor of *Pravda*, had proposed a law which would permit the establishment of private banking institutions, free from governmental control, with the privilege of electing their own directors and managers. In an address to active Communists Bukharin explained that the old conception of a Socialistic State established by War and Communism had proved unsound. A change of policy, he said, was therefore necessary: "The proletarian State must get a hold upon the chief commanding heights of industry and commerce, then by means of commercial competition conquer private capitalism."

These new tendencies were understood to have been the chief topic of debate in the conference of the Communist Party which assembled in the Kremlin at Moscow during the week of April 27. After the conference statements were given out that there was no actual split in the party, but that there was great diversity of opinion over the extent of concessions to the peasantry, to private traders and to private industry. The extreme Communists, however, were quite evidently in the minority, and it was held likely that the leaders who wished to modify Communist theory to meet pressing conditions would prevail in the party councils.

A development which was of especial interest in view of the new policy, was the opening by Stalin, Rykov, and even Kamenev, of negotiations looking to a reconciliation with Leon Trotsky, deposed Soviet War Minister, who, after some months of "exile" in Southern Russia, returned to Moscow on May 7. It was rumored that Trotsky would be summoned to a high administrative post, possibly an important place on the Council of Labor and Defense now headed by Kamenev. It was known that he was offered the Ambassadorship to Japan and that he declined. Grigori Zinoviev, President of the Third International, and Trotsky's bitterest enemy,

left Moscow for a long holiday in the Caucasus just prior to Trotsky's return. Trotsky was received with coolness on his arrival in Moscow. There were no Soviet leaders at the station to greet him. His coming was nevertheless viewed among Moscow officials as indicating the former Minister's early return to office.

The Soviet Government on April 30 made the largest concession yet granted to foreign capital, a fifty-year contract with the British Lena Gold Fields Corporation. American interests will have a 50 per cent. share in the concern. The Soviet decided to return the Lena mines to their former operators. This restoration was given political importance as possibly the first step toward satisfying the claims of foreign companies which lost property in Russia, thanks to the Bolshevik revolution. The new contract contains specific concessions for losses sustained by the company during the whole period in which the mines were operated as a State industry of Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government on May 8 granted a second important gold concession, this time to the British Ayan Corporation for the exploitation and working of the gold fields in the Kamtchatka region.

Reports reached Berlin during the month that unemployment was on the increase in Russia. In Moscow the number of unemployed on dole, totaling about 80,000 in January, had reached nearly 150,000 on April 24. The situation became so acute that the Government forbade laborers from Southern Russia to enter Moscow. It was also reported in Berlin that the charge had been made at a meeting of unemployed textile workers in Moscow, that the Soviet Government had spent 27,000,000 gold rubles on propaganda in foreign countries during January as against an expenditure of only 385,000 rubles to alleviate the condition of the unemployed of Russia. The textile workers made a demonstration in the streets of Moscow, and many were injured before the crowd was dispersed by troops. Demonstrations also were

reported to have occurred in Odessa, where some 15,000 unemployed were declared to have marched in protest; the paraders were scattered after a skirmish with the militia.

Upon the declaration of the Soviet Government that it could meet the needs of those classes receiving aid from American relief, all American relief work in Russia, except in the Caucasus region, came to an end. Despite the Government statement, it was reported that famine was increasing in southern Russia. Nearly 25,000 children were declared to have died in the Province of Tsaritsin; in the Kharkov district 659,000 children were in want, with only 15 per cent. receiving aid. In Odessa, according to reports, some 120,000 children were starving and only 6,500 were obtaining relief.

The Soviet Government published statistics on the foreign trade of Russia in 1924. Totals showed exports of \$185,000,000 in round figures and imports of \$120,300,000, indicating a balance favorable to Russia. Of its imports Russia obtained \$26,500,000 in value from Great Britain, \$25,500,000 from Germany and \$23,000,000 from the United States. Great Britain was Russia's best customer, taking Russian exports to the amount of \$40,350,000. Germany bought Russian materials worth about \$33,000,000; the United States took only \$3,500,000 in Russian commodities.

France received from the Soviet authorities a proposal for partial payment of debts by establishment of a trade

agreement between the two countries. If France accepted the plan, the Soviet Government would allow a percentage of the profits for a fund to repay part of the old Czarist debts. Meanwhile Leonid Krassin, Soviet Ambassador to France, found the barriers of Parisian society impassable. He was especially angered by rebuffs to Mme. Krassin and protested formally to the French Foreign Office.

Patriarch Tikhon, former supreme head of the Orthodox Church, died on April 8. A week later *Izvestiya*, the official Soviet paper, declared that the Patriarch had signed a declaration endorsing the Soviet Government, appealing to Orthodox churchmen throughout the world to do likewise, and threatening excommunication for those priests who opposed. The declaration, whether actually written by Tikhon or contrived by Soviet leaders, was of interest as a document; it contained these most significant sentences:

I call upon all priests and members of our Church who have calm conscience to submit to the Soviet power without fear. I appeal to them to join in our fervent prayers to the Almighty that He send relief to the Labor and Peasant Government in its work for the welfare of the whole people.

At the same time I express the earnest hope that the re-establishment of clear and sincere relations with the Government will induce the authorities to regard us with full trust and give us the possibility of teaching our children the laws of God, enable us to have ecclesiastical schools for our priests and to publish books and journals for the glory of the Orthodox Church.

Nations of Northern Europe

Esthonia

THE Esthonian Ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs visited Geneva to confer with officials of the League of Nations in connection with the report of the Economic Commission of the League. M. Pusta, Minister of Foreign

Affairs during his trip went to Paris for an interview with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Pusta then conferred with Herr Stresemann, German Foreign Minister, in regard to an arbitration treaty. On his return, M. Pusta visited Latvia and Lithuania.

The Esthonian Parliament passed the

national budget on March 31; in his address on this subject, M. Sepp, Minister of Finance, pointed out that the budget had been balanced. It was reported that the Esthonian gold reserve to cover paper money in circulation had risen from 34 per cent. on Jan. 31 to 37 per cent. on March 31 and that the Esthonian mark was becoming stabilized in proportion.

Lithuania

LITHUANIAN animosity against Poland was revealed in a controversy over use of the Niemen River for the transport of timber. At first Lithuania's tariffs seemed too high for the English firms which had bought Polish timber. Then, although Lithuania adjusted its tariffs to the satisfaction of the English interests, Polish authorities endeavored to divert the timber by rail to Danzig for export. Even with rebates, however, shipment via Danzig cost more than the charges by Lithuania for transportation down the Niemen to Klaipeda (Memel). The Poles refused, nevertheless, to raft timber down the Niemen and in order to avoid blame, said Lithuanian authorities, charged that Lithuania violated the Klaipeda Convention, which had been established under the direction of the League of Nations.

The ancient capital of Lithuania, now in Polish hands, was steadily declining. Even the Polish Minister, Thugut, admitted that, said the Lithuanians, and Vilna's timber industry especially, deprived of its natural waterway on the Niemen River by Polish actions, was approaching utter ruin.

The Lithuanian press was outspoken against the concordat between Poland and the Vatican whereby the episcopate of Vilna was assigned to the Polish Church. It was said that the concordat would compel Archbishop Zecchini to leave Lithuania. Lithuanian reports held that Polish nationalists had already begun to incite the masses against Lithu-

anian and White Russian clergy. The conservative press of Latvia closely observed the strained relations between Lithuania and Poland. The press came to the conclusion that a Baltic union in which Poland should participate could never be obtained until Vilna was returned to Lithuania. The chief purpose of the proposed Baltic union is the strengthening of the Baltic States against Soviet Russia.

Latvia

SEVERAL Ministerial and Parliamentary changes of importance occurred in Latvia during the month. A. Krievins, Minister of Labor, submitted his resignation and the Labor Department was reorganized as a Ministry of the People's Welfare, with jurisdiction over the Department of Health. P. Kalnins and M. Skujenieks were elected President and Vice President, respectively, of the Latvian Parliament. M. Kalnins succeeded F. Vesmanis, who had accepted the post of Latvian envoy to Great Britain.

Experts from the General Staffs of the Baltic States and Poland met in conference on March 30 at Riga to discuss the question of disarmament in connection with the plan of the League of Nations.

The police at Riga discovered an illegal Communist press and materials for forging passports. Further investigation resulted in the arrest of some twenty Communists, a majority of whom had false passports.

Figures for 1924 showed that Latvia's imports amounted to approximately 256,000,000 lats and the exports to 170,000,000. There was an increased volume of trade over that of 1923, but the balance was still unfavorable. The transit trade with Russia had lagged during the first months of 1925, but latterly it had revived, especially the exports from Russia through the port of Riga to the foreign nations. A. B. D.

Other Nations of Europe

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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THE Patriotic Union of Spain has issued a long manifesto, the outlines of which have appeared in the American press. As this union is a creation of the military directorate its words are prophetic of Governmental policy.

The manifesto declares that the directorate must remain in office until new political parties arise in the ranks of the Patriotic Union. For this development no time limit is fixed but when the time does arrive the Government of Spain will be handed over to the Patriotic Union. This prospect is quite at variance with the statements made at the advent of the directorate that it was a temporary expedient and that it would need only a few months to put the Government on a sound basis, after which it would dissolve. As very little progress was made during the first year of the union, because of its boycott by prominent members of the old parties, this evolution of new and properly "halter-broken" parties may be a long process. As regards domestic policy the program was as follows:

Destruction of boss rule in town and country; speeding up of the administration in all its branches; polite and efficient servants for the nation; suppression of communism and maintenance of law and order; a welcome to individual cooperation but the exclusion of parties; the elimination of Right and Left divisions; no Rights or Lefts; postponement of all constitutional reform until Parliament is called again.

As regards foreign policy, the manifesto advocates cordial cooperation with France in Morocco and the continuance of close friendship with Great Britain. The bonds of friendship with Portugal, Italy and especially the republics of Latin-America would be drawn ever tighter. Further, there is confidence in the League of Nations as the organ of expression of the conscience of peoples and of social and international peace.

It remains to be seen how the Spanish voter will go toward attaining this ideal.

General Primo de Rivera, Marquis de Estella, does not seem to overestimate his personal achievements. On his return from Morocco the municipality of Ceuta invited the authorities of Madrid to join in a movement in recognition of the General's services. On hearing of this proposal the Marquis addressed the following telegram to the Mayor of Madrid:

I beg of you not to consider such an untimely proposal. The responsibilities I assumed when I undertook to govern the country are still far from being fulfilled, and the nation has the right and the duty of demanding an accounting from me for my work in Spain, as well as in Morocco. Meanwhile the rank and file in the Army and the Civil Service at home have deserved rewards but are yet un-recompensed. My task is of a nature that does not admit of material reward. If I succeed, the recognition of that success by the nation and by the King is the only adequate reward. If my daring to have undertaken the task should prove in vain and I should fail, then neither Grandeanship nor decoration would console me for the contempt of my country.

King Alfonso was reported by two French interviewers as being satisfied with the rule of the military directory and confident that his people were equally contented. The King protested against the erroneous information spread abroad respecting conditions in Spain, and was quoted by his interlocutors as saying:

The foreign papers, I see, declare that our directory shoots and imprisons people and spreads a reign of terror everywhere. The truth is that nothing has changed in our customary life, and for my part I know no country where the police are less interfering than here. Only one thing that has changed since the Directory—you can walk about with money in your pocket without fear of being attacked. There are no more strikes; our factories are at work and our employers no longer see their workmen arrive mornings with revolver in hand to assassinate

them or to impose their own will. You must admit that is something.

Little change occurred in the situation involving the Spanish forces in Morocco. These remained strongly fortified in the little peninsula which reaches up toward Gibraltar, especially on the eastern side between Tetuan and Ceuta. The ancient fortress of Alcazar-Seguir, which lies between Ceuta and Tangier, was recovered from the Anjera tribe which captured it some months ago.

Portugal

PORTUGAL once more has been shaken by a revolutionary outbreak. On April 18 a military revolt gave the Government considerable anxiety for twenty-four hours, compelling the President and Cabinet to take refuge for a time in one of the Lisbon barracks. The National Guard remained loyal, however, and the rebellious troops were eventually obliged to surrender. Two leaders of the movement, Lieut. Col. Esteves and Major Filomeno Camara, and about 150 other officers were imprisoned and the troops which surrendered were put under restraint in various garrisons. About 1,200 persons were involved in the rebellion, and according to meagre reports some 12 soldiers and civilians were killed and 73 wounded.

The affair seems to have been purely of a military character, and to have aimed at replacing the Government with a directorate, but it was supported by only a minority of the military class. In the excitement of the hour certain party leaders were accused of fomenting the trouble. Among these were Senhor Cunha Leal, former Prime Minister, and Senhor Garcia Loureiro, Nationalist Deputy, both of whom were arrested. The former denied any connection with the revolt. The arrests brought up the question of the immunity of members of Parliament. No Communists or "Reds" seemed to have been involved in the case.

President Gomes, who was elected in 1923, offered his resignation on April 24, but Parliament refused to accept it.

The revolt did not appear to have been directed against him personally, as he had been a popular President and no reflections had been made upon his official conduct. He has been in the Government service since the establishment of the present Republic in 1911, when he was Ambassador to England. Now at the age of 61 he seems to be fully capable of restoring order in Portugal.

Holland

FOR some seven years Holland has been living under the rule of compulsory voting. Apropos of the introduction of a bill to repeal that law an Amsterdam correspondent of the *Journal de Genève* gives an interesting account of Dutch experience in the working of this political experiment. The plan was introduced in the revised Constitution of 1917 because of the high rate of abstention which had been for some time visible in Dutch elections.

Infractions of the law have been so numerous that it has been impossible to enforce it efficiently, especially in the large cities. Here and there a few cases were prosecuted, but the people were not slow to observe the feebleness of the authorities. At Amsterdam and The Hague artists and intellectuals formed groups for the sole purpose of turning the system into ridicule by voting for absurd candidates. In Amsterdam some 14,000 electors sent up to the Municipal Council a notorious drunken tramp, and time has witnessed no diminution in the stay-at-home vote.

Though the Constitution was revised in 1922 by taking out the obligatory clause, which left the matter simply under the statute, a bill was recently introduced to modify the law, but the Government hesitated to resort to repeal. It proposed simply to remove the penalties in order to maintain respect for the law.

Sweden

THE death of Fredrik Vilhelm Thorsson, celebrated Swedish statesman and head of the Social-Democratic

Party, was the foremost event of the month in Sweden. Mr. Thorsson was for many years a leading figure in his country; next to Hjalmar Branting, former Premier, who died on Feb. 24, Mr. Thorsson had done more than any other man to build up the labor power of Sweden as a political force. Born on May 20, 1865, at Stora Köpinge, a parish in the Southern Province of Scania, Mr. Thorsson was in his sixtieth year when he died. His early life was spent in modest circumstances. His father was a country shoemaker and at his father's bench he learned the same trade. As a young man he took an active part in the new Socialist agitation of the time; gifted with oratorical powers, and being both intelligent and reliable, he soon won the esteem and confidence of his associates in the Socialist Party. In 1902 he was chosen a member of the Swedish Riksdag (Parliament) from Ystad and he was re-elected regularly until his death. In 1908 he became Chairman of the National Defense Committee, appointed by the Liberal Ministry led by Karl Staaff. From 1910 to 1917 he served as a member of the Riksdag's most important committee, that of the State, and in this capacity his industry and ability won him prominence even outside of the party. In 1914 he was chosen a member of the State Bank Commission; he served in this post, an unusual one for a labor leader, until 1921 and he was re-elected in 1923. He was for several years Vice President of the Social-Democratic Party, ranking next to Hjalmar Branting, the President. When M. Branting resigned as Minister of Finance in the Eden Cabinet in 1917, Thorsson succeeded him in his post. In the first Branting Government, organized in 1918, M. Thorsson was a member as head of the Department of Commerce, and in two subsequent Branting Governments he served as Minister of Finance, a post which he held at the time of his death. On the death of Branting, in March, M. Thorsson was selected to succeed that statesman as leader of the party. With the passing of these two

veterans the leadership of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party now devolves upon a new generation of much younger men.

For the purpose of studying the early migrations of the Lapps, Dr. Gustaf Hallstrom, archaeologist, explorer and assistant curator at the Northern Museum in Stockholm, started out on a 400-mile ski run from Kiruna in Lapland to the Arctic Coast at Petchenga in Finland. By running on the hard crust of the melting snow he expected to make from twenty-five to thirty miles a day across country. The reindeer census, taken every four years, shows that in Northern Lapland this Spring there were 183,625 animals owned by the nomadic Lapps, as compared to 116,979 in 1921, marking an increase of 57 per cent. This being greater than consistent with the pasturage available, the butchering of a certain proportion each year was considered as a possible recourse.

The Port of Gothenburg announced reductions in the dues on ships and on goods whether for import or in transit. It was announced that more than 80 per cent. of the new ships built in Sweden are now run by motors instead of by steam.

During the ten and a half years since the outbreak of the World War Sweden's Governmental expenditures have increased 288.3 per cent. It was notable, however, that while the share given to educational or public welfare work grew from 19.5 per cent. in 1913 to 31.7 per cent. in 1923, the share devoted to military purposes shrunk from 41.5 to 27.3 per cent.

Denmark

THE labor disputes which began in March continued without final settlement to the end of April. At one point the employers offered to end the lockout, but on April 18 the workmen's associations rejected the offer. Consequently the dissension has been growing more and more acute and may lead to a Cabinet crisis. About April 30, L yngsie, the leader of the union of

ing on all transport workers to strike early in May. This step was taken against the wishes of the other unions, who apparently had no desire to paralyze the whole commercial and industrial life of Denmark.

Such a strike would place the Government in an exceedingly awkward position. At the time of the great strike of 1920 volunteer transport workers were employed to keep the traffic open, but the present Government, being Socialist, could not consistently follow that example, for it would be using strike-breakers against the very people who elected it. Parliament may have to be summoned to consider the greatest labor conflict in the history of Denmark.

Norway

THE centennial of the opening of Norse emigration to the United States is being celebrated not only in America, but all over Norway. Committees are preparing the programs for the festivities, and great interest in the plans is being manifested in various parts of the country. The great association of Norwegians scattered all over the world, "Nordmandsforbundet" for name, with headquarters at Oslo, is making the arrangements for the celebration in the home country. There will be a giant meeting at Oslo on the night of June 23, with music, speeches, national games and moving pictures showing the lives and activities of Americans of Norwegian birth or ancestry.

The "Nordmandsforbundet" has leased for the occasion a Norwegian relic of great historic interest—the ancient castle of Akershus—where the festivities will be continued during the week ending June 30. Though subjected to repeated sieges in the course of its long history, the castle never opened its gates to a foreign foe. Its sombre mediaeval beauty overlooking the Oslo Fjord will lend a highly appropriate setting to this unique historical commemoration.

Other festivities at the town of Lier,

east of Oslo, will be marked by the unveiling of a memorial statue of Colonel Hans Heg, a native son who commanded the famous 15th Wisconsin Volunteer Regiment in the Civil War, and who met his death in the battle of Chickamauga.

The City of Stavanger will celebrate its eight hundredth anniversary this Summer and is planning to hold an exhibition from June 8 to July 8 for the purpose of showing the historic and economic development of the place. This old port on the west coast is now the centre of the Norwegian canned goods industry, but its story goes back to the age of the Vikings. All together it is expected that thousands of the sons of Norway will return for these celebrations.

The Archipelago of Spitzbergen has been incorporated with the Kingdom of Norway in accordance with the Versailles Treaty of 1920. The Government has proposed that the name of the group of islands be changed to "Svalbard," which was the name given to it by the Norse discoverers in the Viking period. Descendants of the adventurous discoverers of "Svalbard" are preparing to sail by airship with Captain Amundsen to the furthest North in the month of May.

Switzerland

A SERIOUS conflict between Switzerland and France was recently settled upon amicable terms. The boundary of France comes up to the south shore of Lake Geneva and almost to the gates of the City of Geneva. For many years an arrangement had been in operation under which a considerable strip of territory was accepted as a neutral zone and the customs offices of France were set back to an artificial line. Within this zone there was free trade with Switzerland and an interchange of goods particularly important to Geneva because of its dependence upon the food products of the immediate region.

The situation was suddenly changed in 1921, when the French Government decided to move its customs barriers up to the political boundary. This act gave

rise to controversy, at times quite acrimonious, for the Swiss appealed to long custom sanctioned by treaty, and Geneva was injured by charges upon its base of supplies. The French have now agreed to consider the question as one of inter-

national import rather than of internal policy. The subject will be submitted to the International Court at The Hague, and the two countries will be still further united in harmony by the adoption of a treaty of obligatory arbitration.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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THE progress which the Turkish troops were making at the beginning of April against the Kurdish insurgents continued rapidly to apparently complete success. In the middle of the month it was rumored that the leaders, Sheik Said and Sheik Abdullah, had been captured near Mush. It was also reported that, as permitted by the new law regarding death sentences, about thirty persons had been executed, including Yusuf Zia Bey, formerly deputy from Bitlis. The Government had issued a manifesto offering a pardon to citizens of the disturbed regions who would declare before Turkish officials that they did not sympathize with the rebellion and that they were ready for voluntary service; persons who had participated might obtain pardon by helping to deliver leaders and agitators to the Government. The cost of the rebellion up to April 5 was estimated at \$5,000,000, apart from the loss caused by the mobilization of farmers during the planting season.

The Grand National Assembly at the end of March approved a bill by which death sentences passed by court-martial become valid upon being approved by the commander of a division. The debate on the bill was a bitter one. The Progressive opposition party argued that it infringed the rights of the Assembly and the provisions of the Constitution. The Popular party asserted that they themselves were wholly for the Assembly and the Constitution.

They denied that they had abridged the rights of the Turkish people or muzzled the press and the Assembly. Nevertheless, suspicions continued to be expressed that the Government was trying to suppress the opposition under cover of special measures occasioned by the Kurdish revolt.

M. Franklin-Bouillon, the French negotiator, issued a declaration in which he said that he had no official mission in Turkey. He reminded the Turks that no country was able nowadays to live isolated within its frontiers. It appeared that this emissary's trip accomplished little, inasmuch as the Turks were disappointed in the extent of the administrative concession allowed them at Alexandretta by the French.

Shukri Kiaya Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a recent address declared that the policy of Turkey was based on three fundamental principles, as follows: First, to protect the frontiers and the rights of Turkey; second, to maintain peace; third, to permit no foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the country.

The Department of Public Health estimated the population of Turkey in 1924 to be 13,357,000, not including Moslems brought in by way of exchange. During that year there were about 83,000 deaths and 102,000 births in the country.

It is proposed to organize a group of Turkish-American clubs, first in Angora

and afterward in other cities, "to promote the physical, aesthetic, intellectual and social development of the youth of Turkey." The plan was formulated some months ago by Vasif Bey, then Minister of Education, and Asa K. Jennings of the American Y. M. C. A. Suitable buildings are to be provided, and an administrative committee composed of three Turks and three Americans will organize a program, which will include among other things, physical training, language classes, commercial and vocational courses, music, lectures, forums, and social activities. Owing to the great poverty of Turkey, it is expected that Americans will provide for the expenses of location and equipment, and that Americans and Turks will jointly carry the current expenses.

In the middle of April, Hussein Jahid Bey, Editor of the *Tanin* of Constantinople, was arrested and taken to Angora for trial. He was charged with a breach of the new law for the maintenance of order. A few days previously his newspaper had been suppressed. The editor on May 7 was found guilty, and was sentenced to perpetual banishment from Constantinople; he was condemned to serve his sentence in Chorum, a little town in Turkish Asia Minor. Hussein Jahid Bey was arrested eighteen months ago on the charge of high treason, but was acquitted promptly. His chief offense on all occasions appears to have been a failure to give unqualified support to the group in power at Angora.

The Government is planning an administrative reorganization of the Eastern Provinces, in the hope of preventing further episodes like the Kurdish revolution. The fifteen provinces are to be reduced to thirteen, and these will be further divided and placed under new Governments. Large forces of gendarmerie are to be stationed in Kurdistan.

Egypt

THE political situation in Egypt has been extraordinarily quiet since the dissolution of the new Parliament. There have been rumors of revolution-

ary possibilities, but few signs of imminent forcible action.

Charges and counter-charges have been made of unfair political tactics during the recent campaign. The Government complains that a considerable number of candidates had announced themselves as anti-Wafd, but after the election voted for Zaghlul Pasha. The Zaghlulists claim that the Constitution was violated by the immediate dissolution of the Chamber. It was stated that the British were absolutely unwilling to recognize Zaghlul Pasha as active head in Egypt, and that they would hinder regular functioning of the constitutional system until he had been eliminated. A British editor said: "The prolongation of an intermediate state of affairs is to be regretted, as Great Britain has no interest in seeing the progress of Egypt arrested by political uncertainty. The time for heroic measures has not yet come, and it is to be hoped that the next elections will prove that there is to be no need for that."

Six men accused of the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor General of the Sudan, last November, have been indicted. It is stated that they have confessed to have planned the murder in the house of a Zaghlulist Deputy, Shafik Mansur, with the object of showing that there still was a force in the country ready to put a stop to alleged British atrocities through assassinations. Two others accused of being accomplices were to be tried later.

Neither Lord Allenby, the High Commissioner, nor British army officers of lower rank appear often in uniform. British soldiers are under instructions to avoid making themselves conspicuous.

In the middle of April the dispute between Egypt and Italy over the oasis of Jarabub became again acute, at any rate in the minds of certain members of the Egyptian Government and press. It was stated in Cairo that Italy had served an ultimatum in order to force a solution in its interest. The Government issued a communiqué stating that there was no reason to be alarmed, since the Italian Minister had stated that Italy

did not desire to force a solution, but simply urged prompt discussion and settlement.

With the general increase of world trade the port and harbor of Port Said have undergone steady expansion since the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. The area of the harbor has been extended from 160 to 730 acres. The depth is now 391¼ feet. A vessel 794 feet long and 86 feet wide was accommodated recently without difficulty. Inasmuch as the prevalence of eastward currents from the mouth of the Nile threatens continually to fill the north entrance to the canal with silt, a breakwater three and one-half miles long has been constructed northward on the west of the canal. Though Port Said is politically an Egyptian town, it is actually controlled by the Canal Company. In 1923 cargo to the amount of 22,777,000 tons was carried through the canal; 468,000 tons of cargo were landed, as well as 7,000 passengers. Twenty years ago 1,000,000 tons of coal per annum were supplied to ships at Port Said. This quantity has fallen to 865,000 on account of the increasing number of ships using oil for fuel. The lack was more than made up by 154,000 tons of fuel oil. The water supply for the population of 80,000 is brought from the Nile in an open canal. A large and efficient filtering apparatus makes the water wholesome and palatable. Health conditions are extraordinarily good. It is reported that the former prevalence of gambling has been suppressed and that the police have made the streets as safe as those of London.

Syria

EDOUARD HERRIOT, while still Premier of France, during a discussion in the Chamber of Deputies on the question of Syria, stated positively that there was no thought of abandoning the French mandate for that country nor of any important modification of the frontiers as already agreed upon. It would be necessary to delimit some boundaries on the spot, but this would involve reciprocal adjustments. M.

Franklin-Bouillon denied that President Mustapha Kemal had claimed any part of Syria for Turkey. He recommended, however, a conciliatory and friendly policy toward the Turks. M. Herriot defended General Sarrail, French High Commissioner in Syria, against the charge of having refused "liturgical honors" which he was under obligation to accept according to the terms of the mandate. It was affirmed that General Sarrail had acted quite within his powers in the dismissal of General Vandenberg. Referring to the High Commissioner's duty to show a liberalism which respected all religions, M. Herriot said:

We demand in particular that he respect the Catholic religion. * * * We demand that he take into account the services rendered by its works and by its persons, never to say a word, never to commit an act, which can seem to wound those who, even though in the name of a particular religious view, have ever rendered services to France. But we do not allow the High Commissioner who represents France in Syria to be under another control than that of all France itself, represented by the whole of its Parliament; we do not admit that he should be constantly exposed to the dictates of a certain party or a certain religious group.

Iraq

THE Commissioners of the League of Nations, who were charged with the duty of settling the boundary between Iraq and Turkey in the neighborhood of Mosul, completed at the end of March their investigations on the ground and returned to Europe. They are said to have estimated that the Mosul vilayet contains 500,000 Kurds, 180,000 Arabs, 80,000 Christians, 45,000 Turks and 30,000 Yezidis.

On the night of March 5 a group of automobiles of the Eastern Transport Company was held up by Arabs on the road from Bagdad to Palmyra. Mme. Maillard, wife of the French Vice Consul in Bagdad, was wounded fatally. One car escaped to Palmyra and brought back a convoy, which found that the passengers had been robbed, but that no others had been harmed. The British authorities sent out in airplanes a force capable of capturing the

robbers, who were later reported to have been taken and held for trial.

Sir John Salmond, Air Marshal, stated recently that the transition in Iraq from control by the army to control by the Royal Air Force had shown itself after more than two years' trial to be distinctly successful from many points of view. Its cost of about \$17,000,000 per year was only about one-sixth of the expense of the army previously. The establishment of order in Kurdistan early in 1923 was comparatively simple. The tribes in the deserts and mountains were held in excellent order by their knowledge of the swiftness and certainty of the Air Force's action.

Arabia

THE announcement in the April number of CURRENT HISTORY that the troops of Ibn Saud took possession of the City of Jeddah on Feb. 13 was based on what turned out to be a false report. King Ali continued to hold out in this position and was able to secure some augmentation of his forces and to resist attack vigorously. Attempts were made by him to get control of Medina. The Wahabis were reported to have established a state of siege around Akaba.

Ahmedesh-Sherif Sheik of the Senussi, after being escorted by the French authorities out of Damascus, proceeded to interview Ibn Saud at Mecca. It was reported that he was Mustapha Kemal Pasha's candidate for the Caliphate, and that he desired to be given rule over the Hedjaz.

Palestine

THE visit of Lord Balfour to Palestine in order to take part in the inauguration of the Jewish University on Mount Scopus received much comment, both unfavorable and favorable. The quiet and orderly procedure of events in Palestine was regarded as creditable to both the mandatory Government and the Arabs, and was contrasted to the disadvantage of the French with the outbreak during Lord

Balfour's short visit to Damascus. In Lord Balfour's principal address at the site of the infant university on April 1, he said:

We are now engaged in adapting Western methods and the Western form of the University to an Eastern site, and it is education which is to be in an Eastern language that is the new experiment. * * * Clearly, the Jewish people have a great instrument of literary instruction, capable of dealing with all the higher aspects of literary and imaginative literature; but does it follow from that that Hebrew is fitted for modern usage? There is a great difference between Isaiah and microbiology. Is the language and poetical imagination of Isaiah fitted to deal with the laboratory work which is going to render this spot illustrious? * * * If, in the tenth century, the Jews and Arabs could work together for the illumination of Europe, cannot Jews and Arabs work now in cooperation with Europe and make this not merely a Palestinian University but a Palestine University from which all sections of the population of Palestine may draw intellectual and spiritual advantage?

After leaving Jerusalem Lord Balfour visited a number of the Hebrew colonies in Palestine. The Arab population of Jerusalem and Palestine made no hostile demonstrations whatever during Lord Balfour's visit. Many of them expressed regret that circumstances did not permit their joining in the celebration of a visit from such an eminent statesman and philosopher. In protest against the Zionistic policy with which his name is associated they carried through a strike in all Arab schools, the cessation of business in all Arab shops, and the display of evidences of mourning. They showed clearly that it would be unwise for Lord Balfour and those associated with him to attempt to visit the sacred enclosure on the site of Solomon's temple, which contains the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock. On his return to England Lord Balfour said: "I am more sanguine than ever about the future of Zionism. I think that it is being approached in the right way and that the Jews are fully conscious of the necessity of working harmoniously with the Arabs."

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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China

THE Reorganization Conference, which has been in session in Peking since Feb. 1, was officially dissolved on April 21. Although many subjects were discussed, practically nothing was achieved beyond providing for the summoning of a Citizens' Conference, composed of delegates elected in the provinces, which will report its decisions to a commission appointed to draft a new Constitution. This commission, in turn, will be appointed by the Provisional Government in Peking. A provisional Senate is also to be convened to give a sense of regularity to the Government, which has functioned since President Tsao Kun was forced to resign and Marshal Tuan Chi-jui became Chief Executive.

Fighting was resumed in the south soon after the Tupan (Military Governor) of Yunnan Province, General Tang Chi-yao, announced that he would assume the post of Vice Generalissimo of the Canton Government. This caused a split in the Kuomintang (Popular) Party, of which the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen had been the leader. The Central Executive Committee of the party accused General Tang of acting in cooperation with their old enemy, General Chen Chiung-ming. Troops were sent to oppose his entrance into Kwangtung Province, but on April 28 it was reported that he had decisively defeated these forces near Nanning (Kwangsi) and was moving toward Canton, where he proposed to destroy the Red army of the Kuomintang. General Tang's success was in part due to the movement of Kuomintang forces north to Swatow, where they drove out General Chen Chiung-ming's supporters.

Other danger points were Honan and Shensi Provinces, where rival leaders claimed the military governorships.

General Wu Pei-fu was last reported at Yochow, on the Yangtze River in Hunan Province, where he celebrated his fifty-second birthday on March 30 with much display. Representatives were present from several of the war lords, including General Wu's recent foe, Marshal Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria.

The frequently reported, and as often denied, agreement between France and China regarding payment of the Boxer indemnity was signed on April 12. France agreed to turn over to China the unpaid instalments of the indemnity for the purpose of rehabilitating the Banque Industrielle de Chine, which failed in 1921. Indemnity payments from December, 1924 to 1947, were to be advanced as a loan to the Chinese Government. This loan was to be made in terms of American dollars rather than "gold francs." It was also reported that the treaty powers had agreed to a surtax of 10 per cent. on the customs revenue for flood relief.

President Coolidge was reported as having issued instructions to all American Consuls in China to report to the State Department regarding the traffic in arms. The smuggling of weapons and munitions from foreign countries into China has been one of the main causes for the constant wars which have been carried on by rival militarists. Charges have been made against nationals of Germany, France, Italy, Russia and Japan. The gathering of careful information may lead to greater international cooperation in curbing this evil.

The appointment of John Van A. MacMurray as United States Minister to China, in succession to Jacob Gould Schurman, who had been transferred to Berlin, was widely endorsed. Mr. MacMurray's former service, both at Peking and Tokio, and his long career as Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the State

Department, were considered unusual qualifications for such a difficult post.

The Diplomatic Corps at Peking on April 22 formally recognized the right of Mr. Karakhan, the Russian Ambassador, to act as Dean of the Corps by reason of his superior rank. As the question of custody of the archives of the Diplomatic Corps had not been decided, they remained for the time being in the hands of Signor Cerruti, the Italian Minister.

Father de Clippele, member of a Belgian Mission, who had been in the hands of Suiyuan bandits since January, was released on April 8. Bandit outrages in this region north of the Great Wall had increased in intensity, and General Feng Yu-hsiang had been active in breaking up the organized bands in the vicinity of Kalgan.

The controversy which arose as to the religious views of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen was silenced by the statement given out by his family:

Dr. Sun Yat-sen during his last hours stated that he was dying calmly as a Christian should. . . . It was brought out at the funeral service that Dr. Sun Yat-sen was not what is called an "orthodox Christian," but that he was of the Christian faith rather than a professing Christian.

Japan

WITH the closing of the session of the Imperial Diet political writers were concerned with analyzing its accomplishments and forecasting the political changes that would ensue. Criticism was aimed at the Privy Council and the House of Peers for amending the suffrage bill which was endorsed by the Cabinet. Though the raising of the voting age from 25 to 30 years was considered a conservative measure, the elimination of the property qualification had the counteracting effect of greatly enlarging the number of voters. Manhood suffrage and universal suffrage are now the aims of the advanced liberals. In place of Mr. Takahashi, as head of the powerful Seiyukai Party, General Baron Giichi Tanaka, twice Minister of War, was se-

lected. General Tanaka and Viscount Kato, the present Premier, are old political rivals, and opinion seemed to be divided as to whether the Seiyukai, under General Tanaka, would continue to support the coalition or would seek to overthrow Kato, the leader of the Ken-seikai Party.

The repeated allegations that secret military protocols were attached to the Russo-Japanese treaty were met by flat denials from Tokio, and Mr. Matsudaira, Ambassador to the United States, took occasion to state on April 20, in New York City:

Secret diplomacy is a thing of the past. It is an idea repugnant to the spirit of the treaties made at the Washington Conference, to which we are a party. I am happy to be able to assure you that Japan has no secret treaty or agreement with Russia or with any other country.

The first Japanese air mail service was inaugurated on April 20. The flight from Tokio to Osaka covers about 250 miles.

Steps are being taken to develop the vast deposits of titanium or "iron sand" near Kuji, on the northeast coast of the main island. Some 100,000,000 tons are estimated to be in sight, and such foreign firms as Krupps, Stinnes, Baldwin, the United States Steel Corporation and the Utah Copper Company have tested the output. Any addition to the limited mineral resources of Japan will prove especially valuable to that nation.

Ryohei Uchida, chief of the Black Dragon Society, accused of being involved in an alleged plot to assassinate Viscount Kato, the Premier, some months ago, was recently arrested. The publications of this society, which are decidedly ultra-nationalistic and chauvinistic, have, in the past, furnished much material for criticisms of Japanese policy in China, although its influence in Government circles has been small.

In order to better Franco-Japanese trade relations, a French Commercial Mission, led by Mr. Ader, visited Japan in April. At the same time a Japanese mission, headed by Prince Yamagata,

visited Indo-China. It was expected that a new commercial treaty dealing with Indo-China would soon be negotiated.

United States Ambassador Edgar A. Bancroft on April 16 visited the little port of Shimoda where Townsend Harris, the first American Consul in Japan, took up his residence in 1856. Commodore Perry visited the port in 1854, soon after the completion of his famous treaty at Kanagawa. Mr. Bancroft ar-

rived in a Japanese destroyer and was accorded a civic welcome.

The loss of the Japanese freighter Raifuku Maru, with all on board, off Nova Scotia on April 21, was the occasion for bitter comments in the Japanese press upon the failure of the ships which stood by, to save any of the crew.

A communist demonstration in Seoul, Korea, on April 21, was broken up by the police after many casualties and arrests.

International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University

ON April 13 the Peking Foreign Office published a letter from the French Minister, dated April 9, which informed China that France was willing to hasten the ratification of the Nine-Power Treaty, and that she favored a special customs conference with China. The Washington conference provided that such a special supplementary conference be held in China by the protocol powers to make effective the 5 per cent. import duty allowed China, and also to consider the question of allowing her an additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Eight powers have already ratified this treaty. The ratification by France, the ninth power, would thus make it possible to begin the reforms promised China at the Washington Conference.

FOCH'S REPORT ON GERMAN ARMAMENT

Marshal Foch on April 15 laid before the Conference of Ambassadors his final report on the interallied survey of German armaments. The report contained a statement by General Degoutte, long commander of the Armies of Occupation, predicting a most serious crisis between France and Germany about 1928, when, under the provisions of the Dawes plan, Germany must begin

her cash payments to the Allies. Basing his prediction upon his personal knowledge of Germany, General Degoutte urged the Allies to pay especial attention to the semi-military training organizations of Germany, containing hundreds of thousands of soldiers or potential soldiers. Marshal Foch's report consisted of forty-four typewritten pages, filled with evidence of German violations of the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty, and of the persistence of German dreams of revenge.

AMERICAN LOAN POLICY

The first public utterance of Alanson B. Houghton, as the United States Ambassador to Great Britain, was awaited with unusual interest both in Europe and in America. Speaking on May 4, 1925, at the Pilgrims dinner in London, he dealt with the question of America's participation in the problems of European reconstruction, and in the course of his remarks said:

The full measure of American helpfulness can be obtained only when the American people are assured that the time for destructive methods and policies has passed and that the time for peaceful upbuilding has come. They are asking themselves if that time has in fact arrived. And that question they can-

not today answer. The answer must be given to them. It must come from the peoples of Europe, who alone can make the decision.

If the answer is peace, then you may be sure that America will help to her generous utmost. But if—which God forbid—that answer shall continue confused and doubtful, then I fear that those helpful processes which are now in motion must inevitably cease.

We are not, as a people, interested in making speculative advances. We can undertake to help only those who try to help themselves. And in saying this we are not thinking specifically of any one nation, but rather of a situation in which all are alike involved.

Now with the working out of that problem in its details, the American people have no will nor desire to meddle. They recognize that into it factors enter with which they are only indirectly concerned. They offer no advice. But I may say to you that they hope and that they fervently pray that a peace may soon be reached.

And they believe that such a peace can come in only one way. It must be based upon the assumption of good faith by all who participate in it. That assumption may be larger, or it may be smaller, but in proportion as men seek to eliminate it altogether their work will be in vain.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A Washington dispatch on May 5 announced that President Coolidge was in accord with the remarks made by Ambassador Houghton to the effect that the time had arrived when Europe should begin to help itself and if it made that endeavor it would have the assistance of the United States. The President, it was further stated, felt that applications for loans should be considered by American bankers with pointed reference to the merits of each application and whether financial assistance was to be applied to practical uses—which by implication meant that American bankers should not lend money to European nations for military purposes. Senator Borah, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, on the same day, May 5, declared Ambassador Houghton's speech "a timely and wise pronouncement," and hoped that it was the announcement of a policy that would be carried out.

The Geneva dispatch of April 25

pointed out that the May agenda of the League's activities comprised nine important international conferences on commission meetings upon international subjects. These included the conference on control of the international traffic in arms, the International Labor conference and the meeting of the Consultative Commission on White Slavery and protection of children.

On April 20 Minister Dewirsen, President of the Iraq Boundary Commission, arrived in Geneva to join his colleagues for the purpose of completing the final draft of their decision, the object being the settlement of the dispute between Great Britain and Turkey.

The State Department on April 9 announced that the President had designated the following American delegates to the conference to be held at Geneva on May 4 to consider the conclusion of a convention with respect to the control of the international trade in arms, munitions and implements of war: Theodore E. Burton, Chairman; Hugh S. Gibson, American Minister to Switzerland, Vice Chairman; Rear Admiral A. T. Long, Navy Department; Allen W. Dulles, Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State; Brig. Gen. Colden L'H. Ruggles, Assistant Chief of Ordnance. In addition, there were attached to the delegation as technical advisers and secretarial staff the following: Charles E. Herring, Commercial Attaché at Berlin; Alan F. Winslow, Secretary of Legation at Berne; Major George V. Strong of the War Department and Commander Herbert F. Leary, U. S. N.

On April 20 Mexico in a sharp note and Russia in a caustic communication refused to participate in the conference on the control of arms traffic. A Geneva dispatch of that date said that it was known that the Moscow Government was hostile to the League of Nations on the ground that it was dominated by the great powers of Western Europe and capitalist and bourgeois influence. Mexico's refusal to be represented at the conference was understood to be

due to resentment over the fact that she was not invited to be an original member of the League when it was founded.

When the conference opened on May 4 there were forty-three nations represented. At the session of May 6 there were many addresses. Of thirteen speakers, only France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Abyssinia failed to clamor for sovereign rights which, if considered, would make a convention impossible. Brazil, Poland, Sweden, Greece, Serbia, Spain, Belgium and Holland spoke of the injustice which the control envisaged in the draft convention might work for the non-producing nations in baring armament secrets to the world, whereas the secrets of the producing nations would be guarded.

Brazil said she could not accept any convention which required the sovereign Government to ask the permission of another Government to purchase arms essential to her defense. Greece declared that control and publicity would have the effect of making of each nation a manufacturing nation and thus defeat the object of the convention. Poland called attention to the absence from the conference of Russia, with which she has a common frontier of 1,500 kilo-

meters, and asked that that fact be taken into consideration in discussing the convention. Other nations spoke principally on the necessity of preserving equality between the sovereign States.

The most interesting address of the day was that of Paul Boncour of France, who thus defined the task of the conference: "To transfer from the domain of private law to the domain of public law the international traffic in arms, and, in the interim of our fight for disarmament, to make the nations themselves responsible for all arms which cross their frontiers."

Article 1 of the proposed convention, dealing with the classification of arms, munitions and implements of war, was discussed on May 7, when Mr. Burton presented a resolution to place asphyxiating and toxic gases on the controlled list. The proposal received support from France, Brazil, Poland, Italy, Hungary and China, and was referred to a committee of technical experts. Discussion also took place on the British proposal that warships be omitted from the category of armaments the sale of which would be subject to international control. Japan and Italy supported Great Britain in this matter.

From Foreign Periodicals

Germany Under Big Business Rule

FROM DIE NEUE RUNDSCHAU, BERLIN,
APRIL 1925

JUST about the time when Germany was getting ready for her epoch-making Presidential election, M. J. Bonn contributed to this most democratic of all German periodicals, an article in which he exposed the shortcomings of democracy in that country, in a rather scathing fashion. "Parliamentarism as a form of Government," he said, "is chiefly a method of negotiation. In the place of the dictatorial ways by which the ruler in the past imposed his will on his subjects, parliamentarism sets up a system, by which the ruler, and those ruled by him, solve their

problems by mutual negotiation." The writer goes on to explain that these negotiations, when translated into terms of present-day conditions in Germany, are taking place between two groups, one being Big Business and the other Politics. Under the old monarchical system, the ruler in order to have his wishes carried out, had to rely on a highly developed organ known as the bureaucracy. It is through a hierarchy of great and small dictators that a bureaucracy works. When Germany became a republic and at the same time a highly parliamentary state, the bureaucracy being unable to adapt itself to the new conditions, naturally turned to those who could play the dictator more efficiently. That was the reason why the German bureaucracy under the republican régime turned for inspiration

and direction to Big Business rather than to the political rulers of the State. It was in this way that republican Germany had to submit to a government within the government, with the result that democracy suffered thereby. The worst feature of all this was that Big Business, using all the methods of corruption, succeeded in having its political henchmen elected to Parliament, thus becoming supreme arbiters of the destinies of the country at the expense of Republicanism.

Belgian Unity Imperilled

FROM LA GRANDE REVUE, PARIS, MARCH, 1925

GERARD HARRY contributes a rather sensational article to this French magazine the aim of which is to prove that Belgian unity, which was so striking during the first days of the great European conflict, has been all but destroyed by the Germans who left the traces of their intrigues long after they evacuated that country following a four years' occupation.

It will be remembered that at the time of the German occupation, General von Bissing, the Governor of Belgium, in order to render Germany's position more secure in that country, had Belgium divided in two, establishing a different Government for the Walloon country, and another for Flanders. The so-called Council of Flanders was made up of "Flamingant activists," the majority of whom were in the pay of Berlin. It is said that on the eve of the Germans' departure from Brussels on Nov. 17, 1918, a high German officer, speaking to Madame Lemonnier, wife of the Deputy Burgomaster of the Belgian capital, said: "We are leaving, but behind us you will find the Flemish wound, open in the flesh of Belgium, and full of mortal poison. You will tell us in due time how you feel about it."

Belgium today suffers from many ills, the majority of which are attributed to the division of the country as affected by the Germans from 1914 to 1918. To make matters worse, a new electoral law, hastily imposed on the country shortly after the armistice has destroyed the old "safe majority" of the predominant parties, either Catholic or Liberal, at the same time strengthening the minority groups, the Socialists and the Flamings. This has resulted from proportional representation, a system destructive of majorities, and a source of strength for all kinds of minorities. Belgium instead of being governed by a strong party is ruled by a coalition of conflicting groups which is a most harmful system in the normal times of peace.

Two laws passed by the Germans during the time of their occupation, have contributed to Belgian division more than anything else. The first of these laws forbids any Belgian from holding a position in the central government as long as he is not thoroughly familiar with the Flemish language. This naturally excludes large numbers of French speaking Walloons. The trouble lies in the fact that while all Flemings speak French, not all the Walloons are familiar with French. The second law was the one that made the University of Ghent a Flemish institution. The present Government abolished the charter of the University, thereby offending all Flemish patriots.

Spain's Failure in Morocco

FROM LA REVUE DE FRANCE, PARIS,
APRIL 15, 1925

AUGUSTIN BERNARD, in an article discussing the Spanish disaster in Morocco, says that it was a mistake to cut that country in two, giving France the interior and Spain the seacoast, because in that way both the pacification and the exploitation of Morocco were made difficult. Great Britain, however, objected to France occupying seacoasts so close to Gibraltar, and therefore Spain had to take it. The Spaniards have always contended that France got the meat, leaving the bones to them, but M. Bernard declares that the Spanish zone contains 15,000 square miles of territory and 500,000 inhabitants, and has many fertile plains, rich pastures, olive groves, and good farming lands. The trouble is that Spain has not succeeded in pacifying Morocco. From 1912 to 1920 everything seemed to be going well. In the latter year General Berenguer, the most capable man sent to Morocco from Spain, asserted that the whole country would be absolutely quiet in the course of three years, but in 1921 came the disaster of Anual, and the whole of General Berenguer's work was destroyed. An army of 24,000 men vanished altogether, and the Riff tribesmen advanced to the gates of Melilla on the seacoast. This catastrophe was the logical result of a series of mistakes over a period of twelve years. Spain in Morocco had no plan and no continuous policy. The men sent there were utterly unprepared, the intelligence service was bad, the entire organization of the military forces faulty. But worst of all, Spain did not realize that it was one thing to establish a protectorate, and another to wage war. The Spaniards went to Morocco as crusaders bent on the annihilation of the Moors, whom they treated accordingly. This was the main

cause of Spanish failure. The writer advises a closer cooperation between France and Spain, and an entire change in the Spanish policy in Northern Africa.

Argentina's Nationalist Urge

FROM REVISTA DE OCCIDENTE, MADRID,
FEBRUARY, 1925

LUIS OLARIAGA, in an article describing his impressions of Argentina, says that the immigrants are the strength of America. The emigrant from Europe abandons a world which has grown old, and stationary, and in which everybody is assigned on the day he is born to a certain position from which it is very difficult to advance. Take the immigrant away from America, and you no longer have America. In all parts of the world one may create riches, but nowhere with the facility, speed and simplicity that is characteristic of America. The day when this will cease to be the case, the whole historical concept of America will have to be changed. Riches

being so easy to create, everything becomes a question of men, of population, of immigrants. For these reasons, America, and especially Argentina, is anxiously awaiting immigrants. It is a joy for this country to receive more immigrants. When an immigrant steamer arrives in port, the newspapers carry large headlines: "Good news * * * More men * * * More riches * * * So many have arrived today * * * so many are due tomorrow." This joyful tune is repeated day after day, week after week, year after year, and gives the magic impression of an incessant prosperity, and of unending progress. It creates optimism; it creates speculation, which in itself is a sign of confidence in the good fortune of tomorrow. Argentina is a land of waste. People there spend much; they enjoy life; they go often to Europe. And what is more they do not bother much about economics. Yet, many of the more cultivated elements are already thinking that in addition to local material prosperity, the country ought to create its own culture, and not remain a colony for foreign exploitation.

DEATHS OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

ELWOOD HAYNES, inventor in July, 1894, of America's first automobile, at Kokomo, Ind., on April 13, aged 68.

JOHN SINGER SARCENT, celebrated portrait painter, at London, England, on April 15, aged 69.

T. W. McCawley, Chief Justice and President of the Industrial Arbitration Court of Queensland, Australia, at Brisbane, on April 16, aged 44.

MAJOR GEN. EDGAR RUSSELL, U. S. A., Retired, Chief Signal Officer of the American Expeditionary Forces in France during the World War, at New York, N. Y., on April 27, aged 63.

LOUIS BOUWMEESTER, noted Dutch actor, at Amsterdam, Holland, on April 28, aged 82.

CHARLES FOSTER KENT, American scholar, author of thirty works on Biblical literature and Professor of Semitic Languages and Biblical Literature at Yale University, at New Haven, Conn., on May 3, aged 57.

DR. JOHANN PALISA, Austrian astronomer and Director of the Vienna University Observatory, at Vienna, on May 4.

FREDRIK WILHELM THORSSON, head of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and Finance Minister in the Administration of the late Premier Hjalmar Branting, at Stockholm, on May 5, aged 60.

DR. SAMUEL VALENTINE COLE, President of Wheaton College and author of several books of verse, at Norton, Mass., on May 6, aged 73.

MAJOR GEN. HARRY H. BANDHOLTZ, Provost Marshal General in command of the Military Police of the American Expeditionary Forces during the World War, at Constantine, Mich., on May 7, aged 60.

WILLIAM HASKETH LEVER (first Viscount Leverhulme), British capitalist, at London, on May 7, aged 74. Lord Leverhulme acquired a vast fortune by the manufacture of soap.

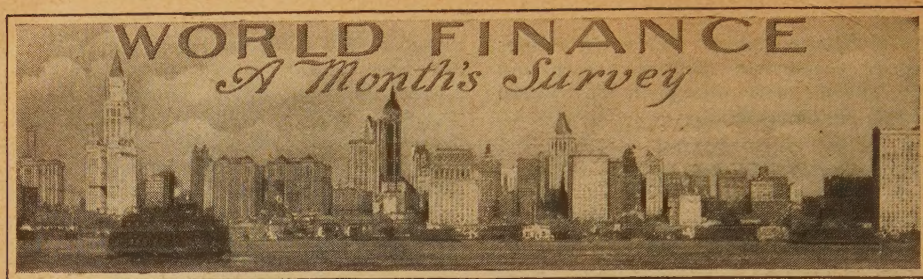
ADMIRAL SIR FREDERICK DOVETON STURDEE, victor of the battle of Falkland Isles and noted British naval officer, at Camberley, England, on May 7, aged 66.

EDMOND THERY, French political economist, at Paris, on May 8, aged 70.

WILLIAM FERGUSON MASSEY, Premier of New Zealand, at Wellington, New Zealand, on May 10, aged 69. Born in Limavady, Ireland, Mr. Massey emigrated to New Zealand in childhood. He had served as Premier of the dominion since 1912.

ALEXANDER MARCHILOMAN, former Premier of Rumania and one-time leader of the Conservative Party there, at Buzeu, Rumania, on May 10, aged 72.

HERBERT QUICK, American novelist, at Columbia, Mo., on May 10, aged 64.



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

THE return of Great Britain to the gold standard six and a half years after the conclusion of the World War was the overshadowing event of the month in finance. Two days after the announcement was made, the first movement of gold from England under the new conditions took place, £397,000 being shipped abroad.

The financial interests in the United States apparently read into the election of Field Marshal von Hindenburg assurance of further stability in the political conditions of the country, for the immediate future at least. On the New York Stock Exchange there was some selling of German shares early on April 28, but the action of the market indicated nothing more than professional short selling, for a sharp rally followed soon afterward on the same day. Banking opinion ostensibly accepted the result favorably. Some bankers sounded a note of optimism by interpreting the election of von Hindenburg as a crushing blow dealt to communism by the German Nation, for, they pointed, behind the Field Marshal were not only the monarchists but also the conservative elements. No fear was expressed in the financial circles of New York about Germany's failing to carry out the provisions of the Dawes plan.

Steps to arrange a settlement of the Rumanian relief debt have been initiated at Bucharest by the United States Government, according to a report from Washington on April 14. The amount involved aggregates nearly \$42,000,000, principal and interest, and the loan is viewed by the State Department as a purely relief transaction, not to be confused with the general war debt problem.

The most interesting financial transaction of the month was the delivery and cashing on May 1 of the check for \$146,000,000, which closed the deal whereby a syndicate of bankers purchased the Dodge Brothers automotive property. This was said to be the largest amount ever drawn through on check in a commercial deal.

The turn-over of checks in New York City on May 1 was the greatest on record, and exceeded by a fairly wide margin the amount of the highest record for London. The total was \$1,697,000,000. The clearances were made through the New

York Clearing House Association, which on Jan. 2 reported its previous high-water mark. On that day, incident to the heavy use of checks by individuals and corporations in payment of dividends and interest payments, the total was \$1,665,000,000.

The directors of the United States Steel Corporation at their meeting on April 28 declared another extra dividend of 50 cents a share on the corporation's common stock, in addition to the regular quarterly dividend of \$1.25 a share. This maintained the 7 per cent. rate on the common stock which had been paid for more than a year. After interest charges on subsidiary company bonds, the corporation reported net earnings for the first quarter of the year of \$39,882,992. After all reserves for depreciation, estimated Federal taxes and interest charges, the corporation reported net earnings of \$21,205,291 available for dividend requirements, or \$2.93 a share on outstanding common stock, which was more than sufficient to cover the regular and extra dividend payments. The decline in earnings for the first quarter of this year, it was explained, was not due to any falling off in the volume of business transacted, but was due chiefly to lower prices for steel products.

The Treasury Department reported on May 3 that the income tax collections for nine months of the current fiscal year decreased \$108,189,699, while miscellaneous taxes yielded \$109,631,414 less, as compared with receipts for the corresponding period of the last fiscal year. Income and profits tax collections for the nine months ended April 1, 1925, totaled \$1,408,039,742.37, and receipts from miscellaneous taxes amounted to \$738,763,523.28.

A 25 per cent. increase in the country's supply of paper currency during the next fiscal year is assured, it was made known on April 19 at the Treasury, as a result of the steps taken by Secretary Mellon to meet the growing need of the nation for bills, particularly of the smaller denominations. What the Treasury plans to do is to insure a better reserve supply of paper money than has been the case for some years past. Heretofore, owing to the high cost of paper and limited appropriations, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing has been turning out just enough bills